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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

JUL 6 - 1959

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- TIRYAKIAN, Thermonuclear Attack . . .
- BIDERMAN, Communist Indoctrination Attempts . . .
- WHATLEY, Attitudes toward Discharged Mental Patients . . .
- RETTIG AND PASAMANICK, Changes in Moral Values . . .
- BLUMBERG AND BELL, Migration and Kinship
- SUSSMAN, The Isolated Nuclear Family . .
- STRYKER, Social Structure and Prejudice . .
- RECORD, Negroes in California Agriculture .
- WOLF, Research Data in Decision Making .

Volume 6
Number 4

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SPRING
1959

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Official Journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems

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Manuscripts and DeRoy Award communications should be sent to the Editor;* communications regarding book reviews and review copies of books should be sent to the Book Review Editor; business correspondence including subscription and change of address should be sent to the Business Manager. All communications to these editors should be addressed to the appropriate editor:

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

*After September 1, send manuscripts to Erwin O. Smigel, Editor, *Social Problems*, New York University, New York 53, N. Y.

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VOLUME 6

SPRING, 1959

NUMBER 4

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EDITOR'S COMMENT

A major issue for society, and one that at the same time poses significant theoretical problems for students of social problems, concerns whether or not our basic institutions and related organizations are performing their alleged functions. This question is dramatically suggested by Clifford Kirkpatrick in his monograph "Religion and Humanitarianism: A Study of Institutional Implications." Kirkpatrick points out the common presumption that religious beliefs and activities produce a humanitarian view of the world; yet his data clearly indicate an inverse correlation between religiosity and humanitarianism for subjects in a large midwestern city.

This study raises the question as to whether other institutions and agencies are fulfilling their purported functions. Just as Chester Barnard notes that individuals do not always perform in ways implied by their organizational titles, so it may also be that organizations fail to function according to general societal expectations. Governments may not be protecting their nationals from war, but rather involving them. Agencies expressly designed to help the drug addict may be derelict on this score, may in fact be, according to Alfred Lindesmith, dysfunctional. Organized efforts to aid youth, for example, the Boy Scouts and athletic leagues, may not be reaching those who need such services most. The jury system may not promote justice, but inhibit it.

This type of question can appropriately be asked of most of our institutions and organizations. Do schools

educate? Does the family turn out societal replacements properly equipped to face the tasks ahead of them? Does our political system really encourage democracy? Does our legal system inhibit or promote crime? Does our social security system protect or destroy the security of the aged? Do community associations serve to integrate or divide the community? Do groups designed to promote racial harmony actually accomplish this end?

Answers to these questions are of obvious importance for society. Their potential contribution to an understanding of social problems is equally important: agency and institutional malfunctioning may constitute a major source of social problems; and failure to recognize the fact of malfunction may delay the emergence of appropriate solutions for existing social problems.

An inevitable consequence of calling into account basic institutions is that of disturbing a number of sacred cows. Yet every responsible business organization takes periodic stock of itself, and it may not be improper to suggest the ultimate social benefits to be derived from the adoption of a similar orientation by society at large.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS welcomes manuscripts analyzing the functioning of our institutions and related organizations. Especially, although certainly not exclusively, welcome are reports of investigations checking the pretensions of, or beliefs about, institutions against measured performance.

ERWIN O. SMIGEL

AFTERMATH OF A THERMONUCLEAR ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES: SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS*

EDWARD A. TIRYAKIAN

Princeton University

With the development of such weapon delivery systems as intermediate-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles, the United States finds itself today for the first time quite vulnerable to a massive air attack. This, coupled with the development of H-bombs and thermonuclear weapons having a fantastic explosive force of 15 to 50 megatons of TNT,** has placed this country in a perilous position if an attack should occur.

Social scientists, and particularly sociologists, can contribute to the devising of a national survival plan and anticipate societal problems in the wake of a national disaster, but with few exceptions (4; 9) the literature has been void of attempts to do this. The task may not be unsurmountable, because there are several recorded disaster situations, of varying magnitudes and sorts of destruction, which contain empirical data relevant to such a project.***

*The writer is indebted to Professor Robert E. Kuenne of Princeton University for having read and criticized this paper.

**The atomic bomb that destroyed 60 per cent of the built-up areas in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, had a "mere" explosive force of 20,000 tons, or .02 megaton, of TNT. A single 50-megaton bomb would have more than the equivalent force of all the bombs dropped on Germany during World War II.

***Of the many well-known great natural disasters in history may be mentioned the following: Pompeii, the Lisbon earthquake in the Eighteenth Century, the Chicago fire in the Nineteenth Century, and the volcanic eruption of 1902 in Martinique, which in a matter of minutes entirely destroyed the city of Saint-Pierre with its 26,000 inhabitants.

The first sociological study proper of a disaster situation was that of the 1917 Halifax explosion by Prince (11); in many ways it is still one of the most comprehensive and insightful works in this field.

The present paper is an attempt to consider the social conditions and problems attending the aftermath of a thermonuclear attack on the United States which should be taken into account by a national survival plan. However, before any discussion of substantive problems and considerations, it may be worth while to explicate the assumptions, terms and concepts which taken together form the analytical framework of this paper.

ASSUMPTIONS

Assumption 1: A thermonuclear attack will not destroy all of the United States and its inhabitants. The physical destruction stemming from a thermonuclear or atomic bombing will vary among sections of the United States.****

Assumption 2: After a thermonuclear bombing, the United States will be left alone by the enemy.

Even if the enemy were not militarily crippled by retaliatory forces, it might still not wish to invade because (a) it would stand to gain little in the way of industrial equipment, most of which would be destroyed or too damaged for further use, (b) occupying the undamaged regions of the United States would be too costly in terms of necessary facilities and personnel, and (c) the large areas of radioactive fallout would make occupation very hazardous.

****The likely target areas as well as the regions which may expect immunity will be discussed later.

Among more recent extensive empirical studies may be mentioned (9), dealing at length with the 1947 Texas city disaster and to a lesser degree with other situations; (13); (1), a study of the 1953 tornado disaster at Beecher, Michigan; and (10).

Assumption 3: The sociological problems attending the aftermath of a thermonuclear or atomic bombing would not be completely different from those attending any other disaster-stricken society or social system. Hence, generalizations about behavior patterns emerging from previous disaster studies may theoretically bear some relevance to an atomic bombing disaster.

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

The term "disaster" will denote a *sudden and severe disruption of a given sociocultural setting, brought about by forces of the nonsocial (or physical) environment*. These nonsocial forces may or may not have been manipulated by human agents.*

The term "destruction" will denote *the severe damage to property (physical and otherwise) and to biological organisms which can be directly accounted by the forces of the disaster*.

The disaster situation resulting from a thermonuclear or atomic bombing will have in common with previous disasters the destruction of property and lives, but the magnitude of the destruction will be greater spatially and temporally. On a per unit bomb basis, it will cover a much greater area of destruction for all living things, though not necessarily for inanimate objects; and it will affect human lives and continue to take a toll for a much longer time after the initial disaster impact. The factor of destruction in a thermonuclear or atomic bombing that distinguishes it from other disasters is the lethal power of nuclear radiation, particularly residual radiation or radioactive fallout.** Thus, the 15-megaton Bravo-type bomb exploded at Bikini in 1954 contaminated

an area of about 7,000 square miles downwind from the point of detonation. It has been pointed out that a 30-megaton bomb detonated over Boston would physically destroy only the Greater Boston metropolitan area, but under proper wind conditions its radioactive powers of destruction could cover all of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (12, p. 329).

Although half of the radioactivity will have dissipated within two days after the attack, the remainder will still be so potent that very large so-called "hot" areas will remain contaminated for as long as several years. Years after the attack, then, a person accidentally coming into such an area may become a victim, even to the point of eventually dying from radiation. Those initially exposed to the fallout will be injured or killed at a later time than those injured or killed by the heat and blast effects, since exposure to radiation does not lead to immediate death.***

The framework utilized here is oriented to the differential behavior that may be anticipated to occur in different temporal periods and spatial zones, using the point of impact as reference point.

Spatially, in any disaster situation, three major zones may be conceptualized:

Zone 1: That area destroyed by the primary forces of the disaster. In the case of a thermonuclear attack, it is the area around the hypocenter or

***Although it is difficult to say with precision what proportion of victims will be due to the primary effects of the bomb (heat, blast) or to secondary effects (radioactivity), some inference may be made on the basis of the atomic bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission has estimated that in these two cities 85 per cent of the casualties were injured by the intense heat and blast effects, while the other 15 per cent suffered from ionizing radiation. See (14, p. 133).

*Previous disaster studies have dealt mostly with accidental or unintended disasters such as floods, tornadoes, and explosions.

**For an extensive discussion, see (15).

point of impact that will be devastated by the heat and blast effects. It is the zone of maximal physical destruction.

Zone 2: The area lying outside of Zone 1 where such destruction as occurs is due to secondary effects. For the thermonuclear case, it is the zone where physical damage is relatively light but there will be destruction of living things owing to a high concentration of serious-to-lethal radioactivity.

Zone 3: That area of the disaster which is untouched or relatively unaffected by either primary or secondary effects.

Temporally, we shall concentrate only upon the major phases that occur in the wake of any disaster — the "emergency" and "post-disaster" stages rather than "pre-disaster" stage.*

Period 1: The phase immediately following the impact of the disaster when most of the destruction occurs.

Period 2: The period of reaction to the disaster, with very problematical consequences for the survivors. Aside from the primary forces of the disaster, secondary or indirect effects may take their toll (e.g., epidemics following a flood, fire starting an explosion, etc.).

Period 3: The period of attempted return to "normalcy" when the forces of the disaster are no longer mani-

fest. The primary and secondary effects of the disaster have disappeared in terms of destructive power, and there takes place the reconstruction of the physical and sociocultural setting.

It may be pointed out that in case of a thermonuclear disaster Period 2 will last in certain sectors of the country just as long as radiation constitutes a peril. Since radioactive contamination will exist not only on the ground but also perhaps in the atmosphere, where clouds of radioactive dust may be carried by prevailing winds, this period may last longer than any other comparable period of previous disasters.

GENERAL FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS DISASTER STUDIES

EMERGENCY STAGE

What sort of behavior may be expected of disaster victims in the zone of maximal physical destruction (Zone 1)?** On the basis of previous findings, we can expect two major forms of reaction to the disaster. At first the survivors will be dazed, stunned, and in a state of shock, but there will be no mass panic. Then, after realizing what has occurred, victims who are not physically incapacitated will almost immediately begin survival activity, and this will not be oriented to self-survival so much as to assisting others. The primary concern will be to find and aid relatives and friends if these are known to be in the stricken area; after this, attention will be devoted to assisting others nearby who are incapacitated.

**Of course, the great majority of the inhabitants of Zone 1 will be killed instantly by heat and blast effects. But those who at the time of the explosion happen to be in very strong concrete buildings, or in underground shelters, subways, etc., will have a reasonable chance to survive the explosion; if they are injured, it will probably be as a result of getting hit by falling objects, broken glass, etc., rather than as a result of primary effects.

*These terms are borrowed from Form and Nosow (1, p. 13).

Variables which make it difficult to discuss the conditions of the pre-disaster stage include, among others, whether or not a state of war formally exists and the amount of time available for alert between the detection of the delivery missiles and their detonation. However, anticipated technological developments in missile delivery may in the near future give a country's defense system no more than a 5- to 10-minute alert, so that the bombing disaster will occur without the population's being able to react before its impact is felt. See (8).

The survivors who are relatively uninjured will develop small, informal rescue teams, so that cooperation and organized group activity—however informal—will emerge very soon in the period of impact (Period 1). The main concern will be for the living, and almost no attention will be spent on the dead. In their survival activity, the victims will discard or pay no attention to the usual proprieties. Class and other customary status distinctions will also be forgotten.

The following illustrate some of these behavior patterns common to disaster situations:

People were dying so fast that I had begun to accept death as a matter of course and ceased to respect its awfulness (2, p. 29).

Even in the face of the direst threat to their own personal survival, the people . . . remained basically social creatures, concerned for and dependent upon the survival of their fellows. Men with bloody heads, lacerated bodies, broken arms and legs, still thought of saving others as soon as they realized that they themselves were still alive (9, p. 30).

In this impact period, which may last for several hours or longer, the survival victims are essentially cut off from other areas, so that survival activity and rescue work is left to their own resources. Also on the basis of previous studies, we may expect differentials in the survival activity of victims in this zone along two major dimensions.

The first is what we may call the amount of ego-involvement the victim has with the stricken area. Those who live in and have a strong community identification with the stricken area will do a greater amount of rescue activity than others. Those who are single or who have knowledge that their relatives are safe will start rescue activity for strangers earlier and will do more for them

than those remaining apprehensive about the fate of their families; it is the latter group that is more likely to panic or feel acute anxiety—not about personal safety but about the safety of those they cherish (1, p. 78 ff, p. 88 ff).

The second dimension is the extent to which a victim's customary occupational role can be adapted to the disaster situation. Persons whose normal activity is oriented to aiding victims of natural circumstances (e.g., doctors, nurses, firemen, clergymen) or those who are trained in institutions oriented to hazardous or emergency situations (police, military) exhibit the most functional, purposive, and coordinated activity. In view of their previous training, their role in the disaster situation is not ambiguous or undefined.*

Greater confusion and nonpurposive activity may be anticipated from those whose normal activity cannot be carried over to the disaster situation, those whose previous training and experience are irrelevant to this situation and those whose self-identification will become very tenuous. If authority figures emerge to take over the leadership in rescue activity, they will receive the support and cooperation of this group of survivors. Among the "disaster protocracy," effectiveness will be impaired by those who experience a role conflict between giving aid to others in general or seeking to help and search for their own relatives and personal friends.**

On the basis of previous studies,

*Prince, in his pioneer study of the 1917 Halifax disaster, used the felicitous phrase "the disaster protocracy" referring to the above group of individuals (11).

**Thus, in the Beecher disaster of 1953 only one-half of those having membership in associations designed to cope with disaster situations acted in terms of their training (1, p. 114). On problems of role conflict in disaster situations, see also (7).

what forms of social behavior may be anticipated among those located in the peripheral Zone 2? The findings of the Texas City (1947) disaster (9, p. 32 ff) would suggest that it is in this area that we can expect the greatest amount of dysfunctional or irrational behavior, especially in the form of panic flight reaction from the disaster. Only a few individuals will go into Zone 1 to aid the survivors, and probably these will be individuals seeking to locate and help relatives and friends who might have been in Zone 1 at the time of the impact. Those who will panic and seek to get out of the disaster zone will be motivated by concern either for personal safety or for rejoining their families, who may be located in outlying areas. Moreover, individuals who realize that an atomic or thermonuclear bombing has occurred may engage in panic flight to avoid being "contaminated" by radioactive fallout. From the point of view of social control, it is the behavior of persons in this zone that constitutes the most serious problem during the period following the explosion.

In Zone 3, where the explosion will be seen but relatively unfelt, we may anticipate that persons will be stunned by the explosion and will have little knowledge about the extent and nature of the destruction. If there is no concern about the safety of the family or close friends, many individuals in this area may be expected to render assistance to victims in general, even to the extent of entering Zone 2 to see what can be done. However, concern for the safety of close ones will be paramount in the minds of persons here who find themselves separated from one another at the time of the disaster; shopkeepers and workers will leave their place of employment to go home to their families, and parents will seek to go to the schools where

their children are. It is also in this zone that a semblance of coordinated rescue and assistance activity will be originated by disaster-oriented organizations (Red Cross, Civil Defense, state police, etc.).

POST-DISASTER STAGE

After the initial period of reaction to the disaster impact, characterized by informal and uncoordinated survival activity, disaster situations previously studied generally undergo a post-disaster stage of predominantly formal rescue and evacuation activity carried on by disaster-oriented organizations. These take over without any opposition from the survivors the tasks of rescuing, assisting, and evacuating victims. However, several major sociological problems arise in this stage which ought to be anticipated in any survival or disaster plan.

One complex of problems can be subsumed under the inter-related categories of *communication, coordination and control*.

Communication. The problems involved here are those of receiving and disseminating accurate and pertinent information *between* the zone of destruction and the outside world, as well as *within* the stricken area. If the sociological setting is to be able to reorganize itself in the aftermath of a disaster, its members must be able to (a) assess accurately and objectively what has happened, (b) evaluate what assistance will have to be asked of the outside world, and (c) determine the most efficacious steps to be taken in coping with the situation.

If formal and authoritative channels of communication are completely broken, we can anticipate the spread of rumors which may enhance irrational and disrupted behavior. We can expect the rumors to be in general of two types: (1) those that tend to exaggerate the extent of the

destruction in terms of property damage and the toll of lives, and (2) those that report new, impendent threats. The latter are, in a sense, more serious because (a) people are more likely to panic in fear of what may occur rather than what has already taken place, (b) persons from outlying areas may be afraid to come into the stricken area to assist victims. The following typifies what has just been discussed:

During the afternoon, wild rumors were spread throughout Nagasaki that the city was marked for a second attack by the same type of bomb. . . . Since about half the city was left unburned, I was inclined to believe these rumors, so I decided to evacuate my family immediately (14, p. 107).

Coordination. The problems involving coordination are sociopolitical in that they involve authority, power, and leadership. In the later part of the emergency stage and the early part of the post-disaster stage, disaster-oriented organizations (Red Cross, fire and police departments, etc.) will develop means of coordinating the activity of their own members along hierarchical lines of authority. Consequently, formal authority in rescue and evacuation activity will replace earlier and more informal, uncoordinated leadership patterns, although a few spontaneous leaders of the early stage may maintain their status within their group by dint of close personal identification with group members and group feelings.

Nevertheless, problems of coordination and authority remain during the period of reaction (Period 2) not only within but also between disaster-oriented organizations:

Not one of the governmental authorities, civic, provincial, or federal, at once assumed and held authoritatively and continuously the relief leadership (11, p. 103).

Of all the organizations participating in the disaster operation, only the members of the State Police felt that they

operated as part of a coordinated system. This again is evidence that they performed a leadership function in the area for individuals from other organizations working with them or under them (1, p. 152).

One encouraging aspect is that the problem of authority and leadership is not so much one of persuading disaster victims to obey instructions as deciding who is in charge and what commands should be given. The willingness of disaster victims to accept leadership readily and willingly without resistance is well known. Janis, who has called this behavior "docile dependency", has said of such victims:

Sometimes their emotional facility is such that they will blindly follow a directive that is obviously inappropriate or mistaken (5, p. 19).

An illustration of extreme docile behavior was noted at Hiroshima among survivors of the atomic blast who made their way on foot to the suburbs and distant hills; their initiative gone, they resembled a pack of automatons:

Their reactions had astonished outsiders who reported with amazement the spectacle of long files of people holding stolidly to a narrow, rough path when close by was a smooth, easy road going in the same direction. The outsiders could not grasp the fact that they were witnessing the exodus of a people who walked in the realm of dreams (2, p. 55).

Control. Among the major considerations of control are the supervision of disaster victims leaving the stricken area as well as the supervision of persons entering the zones of destruction.

In the Beecher disaster a recommendation of both state police officers and troopers was that in the future there should be a more adequate control of entrance into the area, i.e., a pass system (1, p. 155). This was also noted in the Texas City disaster, where traffic control became very dif-

ficult as many persons from outlying areas (in search of relatives or for other motivations) drove their cars to the scene of the disaster and interfered with traffic leaving or circulating within the disaster area, e.g., ambulances, fire trucks, police cars (9, p. 40 ff).

As the post-disaster stage develops, the problem of control involves not only traffic circulation but also looting and pillaging. The individuals who engage in the latter will not be, for the most part, persons caught in the zones of destruction at the time of the disaster; rather, they will be persons who entered the area from outlying districts hours or days after the impact. Disaster victims are too preoccupied about survival for themselves and relatives to engage in looting and pillaging. This again shows the importance of developing means of control at points of entrance into the disaster area.

Another set of sociological considerations involves the relief and evacuation of disaster victims. The behavior of rescued victims shows some commonly found patterns. First there is a great sense of relief and well-being, verging on euphoria, at having survived the disaster (13, Vol. IV, p. 28). Any sort of physical relief and medical assistance, no matter how rudimentary, is gratefully accepted and elevates the morale of victims.*

Second, once survivors of the impact realize that there is no longer an imminent danger to their lives, their most acute concern is to receive and give information as to what hap-

pened. Any sort of news about the disaster is avidly sought, and the rescued victims eagerly try to find out what has happened, not only in the area where they were caught but in other places as well. This is followed by an almost compulsive-obsessive desire to relate their personal experiences following the impact; for days, weeks, and even months afterward, rescued victims will tell their stories over and over again to fellow survivors and to anyone else who will listen. Undoubtedly, this behavior is to a certain extent therapeutic, acting as a catharsis for the traumatic shock of the disaster.

An important sociological consideration concerns the evacuation of Zone 2, where evacuation is often a matter of precaution rather than immediate physical relief. The greater the distance from the impact area, the less the physical destruction, and the less people think their lives are in danger. In turn, this makes them more concerned about other things they cherish, such as their material possessions. If evacuation is made compulsory, a number of persons in this zone will feel great resentment about having to leave behind their property; on the other hand, to make evacuation voluntary may jeopardize the lives of those who stay behind, later to find themselves threatened by secondary effects of the disaster.

Another sociological problem involved in the evacuation of disaster victims is their adjustment to the new environment where they are relocated outside the stricken area.** The initial period of adjustment between evacuated victims and host families is essentially marked by harmonious dealings, with altruistic feelings of pity

*"Even though the ones in the hospital fared little better than those on the outside, they were grateful for a pallet in the most crowded ward. It seemed to satisfy them if they could get so much as a glimpse of a white-robed doctor or nurse. A kind word was enough to set them crying" (2, p. 23).

**Unfortunately, to the writer's knowledge this area has been studied extensively at the sociological level only in (13, vol. II); hence, the following findings may be suggestive rather than conclusive.

on the part of hosts and feelings of gratitude on the part of evacuees. Eventually, however, tensions and frictions develop over having to share limited and crowded facilities; the loss of privacy is felt more and more keenly on both sides. Furthermore, the evacuees feel a sense of frustration at their lack of social status and integration in the new community. In the emergency stage they are the center of attention, but in the post-disaster stage nobody seems too solicitous and concerned over them. Their feeling of restlessness is heightened when reconstruction is undertaken in the disaster area without their taking part in this activity.

The problems of evacuee adjustment involve not only having to relate to a new community and/or a new cultural ethos but also the social adjustments between the disaster victims and host families. The evacuee is placed in a status of dependency vis-à-vis the host and this is a source of tension. One general finding of the Holland flood study which should be of interest is that the *greater the social distance*—economic, religious, etc.—between the evacuee and the host family, the *better* the adjustment.*

Of course, we have no assurance that all or any of these common findings of previous disaster studies would recur in a thermonuclear disaster, but on the other hand, there is no a priori basis for thinking these behavior patterns would not recur in such a situation. As a whole, they form an important set of considerations to be

*For example, greater amount of tension in the Holland case occurred between higher-class evacuees living with higher-class hosts and between Calvinist families living with non-denominational ones (rather than Roman Catholic families with non-denominational ones) than in situations where host-evacuee families were of greater social distance.

incorporated within a national survival plan. However, a thermonuclear disaster will present some new problems for which previous studies are of little help.

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ARISING FROM A THERMONUCLEAR BOMBING DISASTER

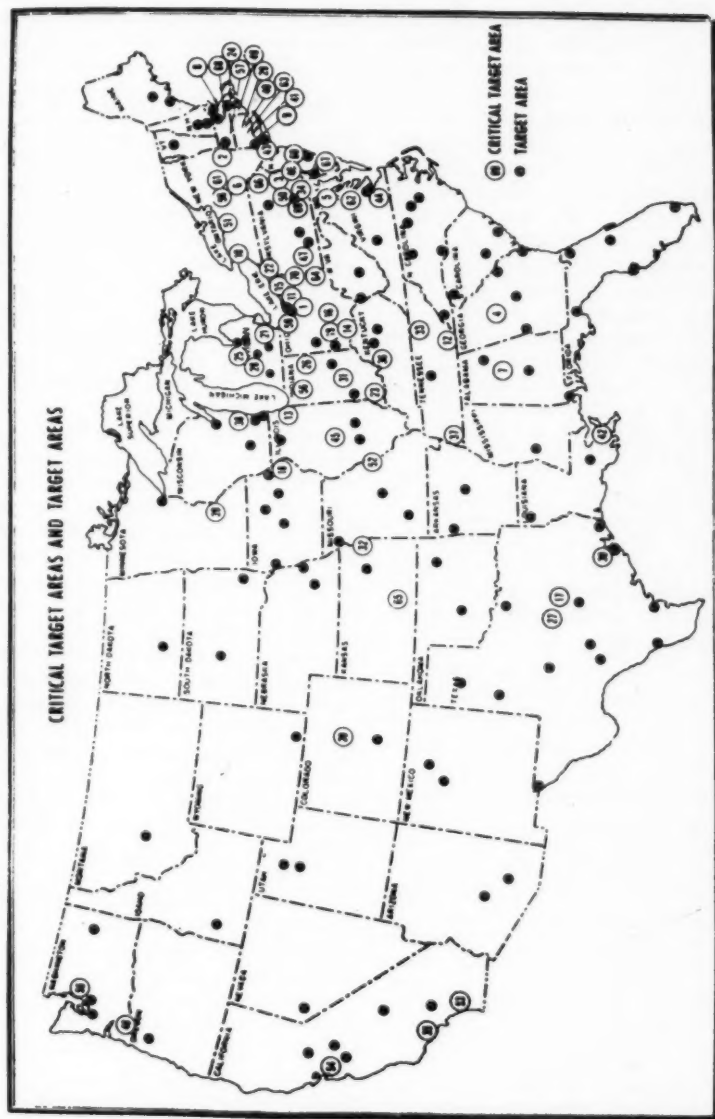
To enumerate and anticipate in any comprehensive fashion all the sociological problems attending thermonuclear bombing disaster lies outside the scope of this paper. However, given the assumptions and the frame of reference formulated earlier, it is possible to indicate some of the salient features.

Exactly where the enemy would strike is, of course, unknown. However, the Federal Civil Defense Administration has drawn up a list of likely target areas shown in Figure 1.

Whereas previous disasters have struck in localized areas, a thermonuclear attack would produce a zone of maximal destruction covering tens to hundreds of thousands of square miles, with an immediate death toll of nearly one-fourth of the nation's population. We may anticipate that another fourth would perish within weeks or months of the bombing from radiation sickness and secondary effects. This estimate is based on the consideration that the primary target areas comprise not only the bulk of urban-industrialized sections of the United States but also those with the greatest population density. As may be seen in Figure 1, the major region most likely to be devastated would be the Northeast, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Conversely, the major region of least strategic importance stretches from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains.

What would the aftermath of the disaster be in a single typical target

FIGURE 1
CRITICAL TARGET AREAS AND TARGET AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES*



Reprinted from: Federal Civil Defense Administration, *Annual Report for 1955* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1956).

*Critical Target Areas are those Standard Metropolitan Areas (SMAs) having 40,000 or more manufacturing employees (plus Washington, D.C.); Target Areas include all other SMAs and all State capitals not already included in SMAs.

area? Problems of survival in Zone 1 will be very serious for many reasons. In all likelihood survivors will be isolated from persons outside this zone for a very long while. Food supplies will not come in from less affected areas because of the lack of transportation facilities; hence, disaster victims will have the problems of procuring their own food and water supply, a substantial part of which may be so contaminated with radioactivity as to be unusable. Since refrigeration will have broken down in most parts, canned or bottled supplies will have to be used soon after the disaster. Disaster victims will also have to administer their own medical needs and get their own medical supplies; rescue activity will not be aided by outsiders.

Another problem is that the radioactive count may be so high that for several days at least, survival will depend upon living underground in shelters most of the time. This will undoubtedly present difficulties of social adjustment.

Having lost contact with the outside world, survivors in Zone 1 will be uncertain as to what happened in other parts of the United States; conversely, the less affected areas (Zone 3) will have no reliable way of assessing the damage in the stricken areas. We can expect that a large number of survivors, both within and without this zone, will have acute anxiety as to the fate of their relatives and close friends. If the attack occurs during working hours, commuters will be separated from their families; if it occurs on a holiday or during the summer vacation months, millions will be away from their home with no way of returning. In any

*For a lucid analysis of the extent and types of damages which would be inflicted on urban areas in the United States, see (6, pp. 65-85).

case, the great volume of physical mobility of the American population coupled with the breakdown of transportation facilities will be a major factor with which to contend.**

In Zone 1 and the peripheral Zone 2 the breakdown of formal communication channels in the emergency and post-disaster stages will lead to serious political problems, especially problems of deciding who has the authority to make which decisions. For example, municipal authorities may be unwilling to declare martial law pending word from state governmental authorities, who in turn may postpone deciding until hearing from federal authorities. Not only may it be very difficult to communicate and relay decisions up and down the authority structure, but also the political succession within governmental ranks, physically depleted by the attack, will be highly disorganized. If Washington were devastated by an unexpected bombing, only a few members of the total legislative, executive and judicial branches of the federal government might survive. Would these be capable of and have the facilities for maintaining governmental functions at the national level? The same sorts of problems would be found at the state and local levels. There would also be problems of coordination between civil and military authorities, as well as those involving coordination within each.

In Zone 2 the thermonuclear disaster initially will not take a great toll in human lives, but the dangerous-to-lethal amount of radioactivity will create some acute problems. On the one hand, people in this zone may ignore the danger of radioactivity.

**In this connection it is pertinent to point out that during bombing attacks in World War II, German morale was lowered more by the disruption of transportation facilities than by anything else. Cf. (16, vol. II, p. 1).

The human body cannot detect radiation by sensory impressions, and the lethal effects of radioactive particles do not become manifest for days after the exposure. Therefore, many persons may be unwilling to leave their possessions and property behind. We have seen in previous studies that the value of private property becomes paramount when the individual no longer sees his life as threatened.

On the other hand, Zone 2 victims may create several problems by *over-reacting* to the danger of radioactivity. There may be a state of *anomie* resulting in a mass panic flight which might go in two directions: (1) a rush to get to hospital and first-aid posts for immediate treatment of radioactivity and minor injuries and (2) a head-long panic to get away from Zone 2 into safer areas. Deciding who will get treated at what time will be a major problem for surviving medical personnel.

The exodus into surrounding territories will generate a host of major difficulties. How persons in Zone 3 (the zone of minimal or no destruction) will react to those coming from adjacent stricken areas is problematic; and this reaction will be more acute in the case of an unaffected area which finds itself the destination of victims from two or more disaster-stricken areas. Would they meet them with open arms, or would they consider these refugees with alarm and even shoot them down in their tracks as invaders "contaminated" with radioactivity? At the same time there may be great difficulty in enlisting volunteers from Zone 3 to enter Zone 2 or Zone 1 for general rescue activity.

One further problem may be mentioned, one which is so obvious that it may be overlooked—the disposal of the dead. Not only will it be very difficult to bury in any normal fashion

the millions of bodies lying in a great metropolitan center and fringe territory, but there will be the problem of developing a means of systematic identification of corpses.

So much for the problems generated within a particular disaster area. What sort of consideration may apply for the whole of the United States to the aftermath of a thermonuclear disaster?

A factor of central importance is that of differential destruction. The fact that the most completely destroyed areas will be urban-metropolitan and the least affected will be rural-agrarian belts will lead to several major consequences.

First, the problem of evacuation will involve the settling of victims coming from an urban-industrial ethos into an environment with a predominantly rural-agrarian ethos. The differences in styles of life and value orientations between urban evacuees and rural hosts will also be enlarged because of major ethnic and religious differences between persons in these regions. The sort of assistance and concern for the disaster victims the rural population will show may be nugatory:

However, unlike the urban pattern, the concern of the rural respondents for people in general ceased after the second phase. Apparently, once having cared for themselves, their families and their immediate neighbors, they withdrew from disaster activities almost entirely. This was so despite the fact that there was heavy damage and loss of property in nearby areas (1, p. 81).

Second, in the post-disaster stage the balance of economic and political power will shift in favor of the unaffected areas. Farmers and other food producers will be in a strategic position to command whatever they want for their commodities as long as sheer biological survival remains critical in the devastated areas; they

may well become the economic elite of the post-disaster stage. In political matters, the Middle West, Mountain and certain Southern states will be in command of the post-disaster Congress (if one is able to function) merely on the basis of population survival figures. What sort of political representation to give to states such as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio, where four-fifths of the population might perish as a result of the disaster, will be very difficult to decide.

The economic problems in the reconstruction stage will be enormous, and we can only suggest some very briefly.* Even in the unaffected areas there will be great problems of unemployment because those areas are so economically interdependent upon other regions of the United States. Since the zones of destruction will include most of the great financial centers of the United States, there will be major difficulties in finding sources of credit necessary to rebuild industrial production, even on a very modest scale. Persons whose main sources of income are normally derived from securities of all sorts will find themselves destitute overnight, and there will be great problems involving the redistribution of wealth and financial status. Any attempt at compensation will be further complicated by the fact that there will be extensive destruction of property records, so that the task of deciding who owned what before the disaster struck will be laborious, if not altogether impossible.

Another major sociological prob-

*For a fuller discussion, see (4, pp. 217-227); a more detailed quantitative analysis of the economic consequences of the disaster may be found in Hornell Hart (3). Unfortunately, Hart's analysis is based on .1 megaton bombs delivered by planes; thus his figures have been made obsolete by recent technological developments.

lem involved in the aftermath situation is that of mate-selection and of controlling the sexual union of those who have been exposed to serious doses of radiation. Since genetic mutations and congenital defects arising from radiation may be passed on to future generations (12, Chaps. 4, 9), there will be the problem of deciding whether these radiation victims should be allowed to procreate and, if so, whether with each other or also with those who have not been exposed to radioactive fallout. Maintaining files on individuals as to where they were at the time of the disaster and as to whether or not their germplasm might have suffered from radiation may not only be very difficult but may meet with great resistance on the part of the population unwilling to be "tagged" as radioactive "carriers."

This problem of controlling mate selection is part of a much broader and final sociological consideration for the aftermath situation—namely, *the extent to which present institutions functioning within the context of a democratic society could operate in a nation devastated by a thermonuclear disaster*. The United States in the aftermath of a thermonuclear disaster may well be characterized by either of two polar forms of social organization. On the one hand, there may be a national *anomie* consisting of an aggregate of regional, community, or kinship groups, loosely if at all related to one another economically and politically, each autonomous surviving social group living more less at the subsistence level. On the other hand, a semblance of predisaster national functional interdependence may be achieved—but only at the cost of replacing democratic controls by rigid authoritarian structures. Both of these will involve a radical transformation of traditional American society and consequently will involve a transfor-

mation of American values and belief systems.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to delineate some of the sociological problems which would result from a thermonuclear attack upon the United States. Obviously, further and more systematic research is necessary if we are to anticipate what problems a comprehensive survival plan would have to entail. A more elaborate codification of data pertinent to a disaster survival situation is of the utmost importance; such research would have to include not only disaster studies but also studies of persons in extreme situations, of social behavior under psychological stress of various sorts, and a whole host of related problem areas.

Undoubtedly, the task of anticipating and evaluating the manifold problems of survival in such a disaster situation presents to sociology and the other social sciences one of their greatest and most awesome challenges, along both theoretical and practical grounds. It is a challenge that well merits our immediate attention.

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EFFECTS OF COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION ATTEMPTS: SOME COMMENTS BASED ON AN AIR FORCE PRISONER-OF-WAR STUDY*

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Much effort in the study of Communist attempts to exploit Air Force prisoners of war has been devoted to demonstrating the inappropriateness of some prevalent notions about what occurred in the internment places in North Korea and Communist China, and why. It is strongly suspected that the languages and thought-habits of our culture have a significant heritage from diablerie which accounts for the way in which events such as these are misconceived. As with most things in our culture, however, diablerie has become secularized. The modern term is "brainwashing" (1).

"What we call brainwashing," says a prolific writer on the subject, "is an elaborate ritual of systematic indoctrination, conversion and self-accusation used to change non-Communists into submissive followers of the party" (13, p. 27).

According to the Associated Press,

*Among numerous individuals who supported the work with which this report is concerned, the author particularly acknowledges aid from: Lt. Col. James L. Monroe, Herman J. Sander, Martha Loughlin, Lt. Col. Robert L. Williams, Col. Leo P. Geary, 1st Lt. Louis M. Herman, and Herbert Zimmer. This report is based on work done under ARDC Project No. 7733, Task 77314, in support of the research and development program of the Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center, Lackland Air Force Base, Texas. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication, use, and disposal in whole and in part by or for the United States government. The completion of the present report was supported in part by a grant to the author from the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology, Inc. This paper was read at the 1957 Meetings of the American Sociological Society.

"Brainwashing . . . destroys the will, erodes reason, banishes hope. It puts a man in hell and holds him there with the gnawing guilt that he has signed a pact with the Devil."**

Stories about prisoners of war seem to have had special news value if demonolatry — worship of communism, in this instance — could be implied (17, 5). The prevailing view was that "brainwashing" converted prisoners into temporary or permanent Communists. Such a conversion did not occur in the case of any Air Force prisoner of war, however. In fact, in no case was this extreme even remotely approached — not even in those few cases in which total conversion was seriously attempted.

RELEVANT CRITERIA OF INDOCTRINATION

Indoctrination is not an all-or-nothing affair in which there is either total conversion or no effect. Consequently, in the study of the experiences of Air Force prisoners, an attempt was made to evaluate the effects of indoctrination in terms of a number of criteria relating to specific responsibilities of the Air Force. Among the questions raised were the following:

1. Were any returnees made "security risks" because of Communist indoctrination, in the sense of being potential agents of Communism?
2. Were any returnees "publicity risks" by virtue of Communist indoctrination; i.e., would they

**Associated Press feature datelined March 28, 1954.

- make statements or behave in such a way as to bring discredit upon themselves, the Air Force or the nation?
3. Had indoctrination affected the ability of any to perform their duties as members of the Air Force or as citizens?
 4. Did any act contrary to the interests of their country because of sympathy with the enemy's cause which had been induced?
 5. Were personal problems of adjustment created by Communist indoctrination?
 6. How lasting were indoctrination effects likely to be?
 7. What could be inferred from these cases regarding the vulnerability of Air Force personnel, and Americans, generally, to Communist indoctrination attempts?

DATA

This report presents a few of the considerations from the Air Force study which conflict with widespread impressions of the effects of the Chinese Communists' attempts to indoctrinate our prisoners of war.

The primary data for the over-all POW study were transcripts of interviews with each of the 220 members of the Air Force who were repatriated by the Chinese Communists in 1953. Each former prisoner of war was interviewed within a few days after his release, and again within several weeks after his return to the continental United States. These interviews were conducted primarily for intelligence and administrative purposes and had various deficiencies as research data. Among other information relevant to the present paper, the transcripts included repatriates' descriptions of Chinese Communist indoctrination efforts and materials, statements of their opinions of communism and of their

captors, and their recommendations for preparing military personnel for the event of capture. About twenty of these repatriates were also interviewed by members of the research staff explicitly for the purposes of the study, however. In addition, a mail questionnaire, which the repatriates were asked to return anonymously, was completed by 90 per cent of the men (20, pp. 139-143).

More elaborate data were available from the 15 additional Air Force prisoners who were detained in China until 1955. For these cases, research teams in which the writer participated made detailed observations and interviews beginning within a day of their release and continuing through the first week of their return. This was followed after an interval of several weeks by the assignment of the men to the research organization for intensive interviews, tests and informal conversations with research personnel over a period of from two weeks to one month (14).

Some of the interpretations in the present paper relating to individual reactions are based exclusively on the cases interviewed explicitly for the purposes of the research.

It is important to emphasize that this paper is based upon a direct study of Air Force cases only. The Air Force returnees as a group are quite different from those of the other services with respect to background characteristics (age, rank, education, etc.) and with respect to experiences while captive (20, pp. 141-143).

An additional caution is that, even under ideal circumstances, behavior which is a matter of intense public moral evaluation is difficult to study. Many of the questions raised rely on the retrospection, and worse, on the retrospective introspection of subjects in a very different situation. The success of efforts to keep situations in

which the data were collected devoid of threat was doubtless limited.

Case for case, however, the Air Force returnees were the most intensively studied of all POWs. In part, this was due to the small number of men involved; in part, to the significance attached to the problem by the Air Force and to the priority it gave research (14).

INDOCTRINATION: AMOUNT AND EFFECTS

Amount of Indoctrination. One scale in terms of which an attempt was made to rate indoctrination was the notion of "how much" of the enemy's doctrine was "absorbed" or "accepted." While some discriminations could be made among the available population in terms of this kind of scale, it did not provide much of an answer to the questions regarded as significant to the Air Force. Among these returnees were a few individuals who had "absorbed," and even some who had "accepted," a considerable amount of the doctrine to which they had been exposed, yet who constituted little or no problem to themselves, the Air Force, or the nation. On the other hand, a comparatively slight "amount" of indoctrination may be sufficient for disastrous outcomes, as in the case of some Army personnel who declined repatriation (8, 15). A number of key considerations limit the significance of the "amount" or "scope" of indoctrination.

Conflicts with American Loyalties. The significance of indoctrination to many of the concerns listed involves the degree to which the individual is led to act or think in conflict with his own society. The effects of indoctrination on various Air Force returnees demonstrated the extent to which the victim of Communist indoctrination efforts can respond selectively to the content of the indoctrination and ab-

sorb material which causes no fundamental conflict with pre-existing beliefs and loyalties. Thus, for example, indoctrination did evoke in some of the POWs considerable concern about the Negro problem in the United States, sympathy with the plight of the industrial worker in 18th-Century England as portrayed by Dickens or Engels, or a "love of peace." So long as the individual did not accept the Communist view of the implications of these matters, the attitude changes were not such as to present any great conflict with American ideals. In no case was there evidence that any returned Air Force POW accepted doctrine which he viewed as conflicting with fundamental American ideals, nor was there evidence that the fundamental allegiance of the individuals to the United States was weakened.

This does not mean that the effects of indoctrination have not created conflicts between the men and the society. There were potential ideological conflicts created of which the men were not aware at the time they were interviewed. An indication of one conflict was the feeling among several that the political commissar system would be a valuable innovation in the U. S. Air Force. The degree to which the returnee is aware of the conflict between attitudes he has come to hold and fundamental American ideals is a further key consideration in evaluating effects of indoctrination.

Adjustment to Expectations of Others. Another significant basis of potential conflict resides in the very special attitude that others have to the returnees as persons known to have been subject to Communist indoctrination. Returnees were subjects of suspicion. The service, the press, the public, their friends, and their families all scrutinized them to determine what effects Communist indoctrination might have had. As targets of

such scrutiny, the *source* of attitudes the men hold becomes significant as well as the actual content and its consistency with American principles. What would be perfectly acceptable manifestations of attitude on the part of the ordinary serviceman can excite suspicion or alarm when displayed by a returnee from Communist captivity. An example of this is the agnostic position of one of the returnees which, while varying hardly at all from the state of his religious beliefs prior to capture, produced a violent reaction in many who met him after his return.

Whether or not serious problems arise from the attitudes taken toward these men depends upon a number of factors. Particularly important is the awareness by the returnee of the nature of the scrutiny to which he is being subjected, his ability and motivation to adjust to this scrutiny by talking and behaving with care, and his ability to tolerate suspicions without active feelings of resentment. The general impression derived from these interviews is that, to the extent that the returnees at the moment of their release were not already prepared to deal appropriately with the way in which others regarded them, they quickly became sensitive and intelligently responsive to this scrutiny. One pilot reported his successful adjustment to the anxious scrutiny of his home-town peers. After several days, one of his old acquaintances blurted: "Damn it, you're not brainwashed. You're the same mean bastard you always were."

Awareness of Coercion. The feeling that the possession of some attitude by a returnee has a different significance than its possession by any one else is not wholly irrational. The aspect of Communist indoctrination which is most puzzling to many is not so much the false nature of the beliefs that are accepted as it is the apparent failure

of those who have been indoctrinated successfully to give sensible consideration to the circumstances through which they were brought to accept communistic beliefs. It is felt that torture, threats, and solitary confinement should engender hatred of, not sympathy with, the beliefs of the perpetrators. The idea that there must be something mysterious about the brainwashing process stems from the failure of the behavior of some former victims of communist coercive indoctrination to accord with common sense in this respect (9). The degree to which the returnee recognized and responded appropriately to the coercive nature of the attempts to indoctrinate him is a further significant basis for rating indoctrination attempts.

In none of the Air Force cases was there a failure to be conscious of the nature of the communist attempts to manipulate thinking. In cases where arguments did have an emotional or logical appeal, there remained the recognition that a situation in which one was under coercion and able to hear the arguments of only one side was not one in which to make final decisions about the validity of ideological arguments. In some instances, where a communist indoctrinator was able to portray himself as a sincere, honest, and objective person, and in which a relatively permissive atmosphere prevailed, some impressions temporarily favorable to the Chinese Communists were created. Thus, for example, indoctrination of prisoners isolated for medical treatment in hospitals was particularly likely to have an effect.

Indoctrination and Collaboration. The effects of indoctrination have somewhat different significance as they operate while a man is a prisoner and after his return. So long as the man remains a prisoner, successful indoctrination of him by his captors affects

U. S. interests only to the extent that it leads to collaboration with the enemy, such as the prisoner's giving intelligence information, making propaganda statements or appearances, declining repatriation, etc.

One of the most striking observations in the Air Force study was the lack of correspondence between the extent to which prisoners were favorably impressed by ideological doctrines of their captors, and the degree to which they would go along with their captors in other areas.* For example the pilot who on most counts was rated as the Air Force returnee most affected by communist ideological indoctrination, resisted giving a false confession for a longer time than did any other POW who was pressured and who eventually complied. Another officer, at a time when he was reacting quite sympathetically to communist dogma, effected a difficult escape. A third individual for whom many communist ideological arguments had appeared quite sensible was the most overtly defiant of "defendants" in public trial of Air Force personnel—overt defiance being an exceedingly rare occurrence in communist public trials. It is to be expected that men who take ideological matters seriously would be among those who acted most in accordance with a patriotic commitment.

Some of these cases showed the extent to which there can be "acceptance" of doctrine on the intellectual level without a corresponding emotional identification with that doctrine or any tendency to act in accordance with it. A pilot who was sold the idea that the Communists had a legitimate claim to Formosa, for example, could nonetheless be willing to shoot-up any opportunity they made to exert it.

Duration of Indoctrination Effects.

*The same conclusion was reached in a study of Army prisoners of war (18).

From the Communists' standpoint, a weakness of the methods which they employ to indoctrinate prisoners of war is the highly temporary effects they obtain (2, p. 17; 9, pp. 164-165, 174). Indoctrination achieved some success only in a very few cases of individuals who were held for prolonged periods in complete isolation. The success was limited to the period during which the individual was being subjected to intensive indoctrination efforts and when these efforts were not contaminated by what the prisoner interpreted as attempts to use him for an ulterior purpose, e.g., by efforts to elicit intelligence information, "confessions," or the like. As soon as such prisoners were put together, they began to "straighten each other out."

EVALUATION OF COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION EFFORTS

The content of communist indoctrination is based on decades of testing and elaboration by a world-wide movement organized for propaganda and proselytization. The Chinese Communists have been particularly enterprising in developing ways of "reforming thoughts." The political indoctrination of POWs is a central tenet of Chinese Communist military doctrine (5). However, it does not appear that any Air Force POW encountered communist prisoner-indoctrination efforts in their most intensive and effective forms.

Even at its best, indoctrination does not appear to have been a completely preplanned, systematically executed affair. Extensive use was made of indoctrination materials and themes which could easily have been predicted to produce a violent negative reaction in almost any American and which, in fact, ruined much of the favorable effect the Communists sometimes had previously achieved. An example was a film shown to one group of Air Force prisoners in which nuns

and priests are portrayed producing submachine guns from under their robes and mowing down numerous innocent men, women, and children. The "boy meets girl, boy chucks girl for tractor" novels are another (4).

In general, considering the persistence and unscrupulousness of the Communists, and the complete control they could exercise over prisoners, it can be said that they achieved far less success than would be expected. It has been proved, both historically and experimentally, that the skillful exploitation of a highly controlled environment can be used to convince individuals of the validity of a great variety of false things, nonexistent heresies and witches, as well as communism, being examples (7; 9, pp. 118-122).

While indoctrination, as practiced by the Chinese Communists in these cases was a deliberate procedure which had achieved some effectiveness, the Communists generally negated the success they could have been able to achieve. Much of the failure is due to their ignorance of American ideals, the attitudes of Americans, and the true facts about life in the United States. In addition, attempts at indoctrination through coercion proved to be particularly unsuccessful, especially in the long run (3, 16).

ABILITIES OF U. S. AIR FORCE PERSONNEL TO WITHSTAND INDOCTRINATION

There appears to be a widespread impression that American prisoners generally were pushovers for Chinese Communist indoctrinators (12). Impressions gained from Air Force cases is the reverse. Although only impressionistic judgments can be made on this, the evidence seems convincing that, in comparison with people of other nationalities whom Chinese and other Communist captors have at-

tempted to manipulate in a similar fashion, American military personnel were strikingly resistant to Communist indoctrination efforts.

Returnee Dissatisfaction with Own Political "Ignorance." Much of the impression of the effectiveness of the Chinese attempts is traceable to the testimony of the returnees themselves, however. Many of them were of the opinion that they and their fellow POWs were ill-prepared to cope with communist indoctrinators, that they were embarrassed and insecure when confronted with communist argumentation and found how inconsistent, unarticulated, and seemingly poorly supported were their own political and philosophical beliefs. They were dismayed when confronted with Communist personnel who appeared to have considerably more information on American governmental structure than they themselves had. They were extremely unhappy to find they had difficulty in refuting logically some of the arguments of their captors. The majority of our returnees were of the opinion that the Armed Forces should devote more time and effort to political education.

Not Ignorance but Implicit Political Faith. Nevertheless, the impressions of the unusually intense resistance of American personnel to indoctrination attempts are believed to be true, despite this returnee testimony. In fact, these feelings of weakness and inadequacy of the former POWs may be interpreted as reflections of their basic strengths in this regard. They are manifestations of some fundamental aspects of American political temperament which makes for peculiar invulnerability to ideological indoctrination.

It is not maintained here that ignorance is strength in this regard, but rather that only the "strong" can afford this ignorance. Much of the in-

articulateness of these men regarding their own basic beliefs and outlook is attributable to the fact that these are unquestioned and implicit articles of faith. These beliefs were never challenged in their lives to the point where the individual had to examine them critically, to construct rationalizations of them, to adopt an articulated ideology. Since Sumner's work, at least, it has been too "old hat" to be worth mentioning that it is precisely the unarticulated, unrationalized, implicitly accepted beliefs that have the greatest "binding power" (19, p. 60). Most of the American prisoners of war had an unquestioned belief in their own superiority, the superiority of things American, and feelings of rightness and wrongness which the Chinese never were able to alter fundamentally, despite the inability of most POWs to make cogently articulate defense of their feelings or to counter logically some of the arguments of their captors. The POWs might have been much more vulnerable had they had a highly rationalized ideology, as for example, did the Nazi troops who as POWs were relatively easy marks for both Western and Soviet political indoctrinators.

The Strength of "Anti-ideology."

To the extent that our men did have an ideology, one of its basic principles was "anti-ideology." The most common attitude was not only relatively apolitical, it was *anti-political*. The almost universal way of referring to Communist indoctrination and indoctrination matter was "all that political crap." (It was "crap" not only because it was Communist, but because it was political. The same attitude is the bane of the Information and Education Officer in our Armed Forces.) The Chinese Communists attempted to make the political important to the prisoner by linking it to the satisfaction of most everyday

needs and, sometimes, to survival itself. This was generally successful in making it instrumentally but not intrinsically important. It became merely "crap" you had to put up with, for most.

It should not be concluded that this is the ideal basis for resistance, either practically or normatively. In the face of a more intelligent attack than that of the Chinese Communists, such a defense might prove vulnerable. A major vulnerability is that many possessed a general set of attitudes which is inconsistent with those that have been sketched. One of these inconsistent attitudes is that the political, the ideological, the philosophical are indeed "higher" things about which one should really feel concerned, even though one is not. Practically all returnees expressed some feeling of having been delinquent in not having read or studied more about politics and ideology, and a few denounced the services for not having done enough to acquaint them with such matters. There were some who had this attitude strongly enough to "study" actively under communist tutelage.

Like most attitudes, this one is situationally relevant. That is, in most ordinary life situations for most Americans the attitude that politics and ideology is a lot of unimportant nonsense is socially facilitated; but there are a few situations in which almost all feel that a more solemn attitude toward such matters is appropriate. So, for example, a large number of these men quite solemnly chose to risk death rather than dishonor self or nation. As prisoners of war, men found themselves in situations which they, as individuals or small groups, had to define for themselves. Where the situation became defined as one to which the solemn, rather than the "crap" attitude to political indoctrination was appropriate, indoctrination

was facilitated. Variations in what the Chinese did and many chance factors, as well as the predispositions of the individuals involved, seem to have had much to do with determining how the situation became defined.

Among some of our men, another attitude antithetical to the anti-ideological one was detected. As opposed to the deep-seated distrust and distaste for political dogmas of any kind characteristic of most, there were some who had the impression that there must be some American dogma, with which they felt that they were unfortunately unfamiliar, which would provide the answer to those Communist arguments they themselves could not counter. But this, too, as can be readily seen, is a rather unassailable position. It will remain unassailable as long as its holders feel that they are politically ignorant (10, 11).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There were widespread impressions after the Korean War that American prisoners in Korea and China had generally been easy marks for Chinese Communist indoctrination methods, popularly termed "brainwashing," and that many prisoners of war were converted into temporary or permanent communists by their captors. The Air Force study of its repatriated personnel endeavored to evaluate the actual significance of the effects of indoctrination attempts in terms of explicit criteria. These criteria related to attitudes and behavior that were relevant to responsibilities of the Air Force for its personnel.

On the basis of interviews and questionnaire responses of the 235 members of the Air Force who were repatriated, the following conclusions were reached:

1. Chinese Communist attempts to indoctrinate Air Force prisoners of

war were generally ineffective, in that these attempts:

- a. did *not* convert any Air Force personnel into communists or communist sympathizers;
- b. did *not* weaken the fundamental allegiance of these prisoners to the United States and American ideals;
- c. did *not* motivate prisoners to collaborate in such matters as giving intelligence, refraining from escape, or making propaganda;
- d. did *not* have major effects which could endure much beyond the period during which a man was being intensively indoctrinated in complete isolation from his fellows and from contact with the "outside world."

2. The ineffectiveness of indoctrination efforts is due in part to the following:

- a. prisoners who accepted some of the indoctrination content nonetheless responded selectively so that they accepted only material which caused no conflict with pre-existing beliefs and loyalties;
- b. prisoners were generally aware that a situation in which one is under coercion and able to hear the arguments of only one side is not one in which to make final decisions on the validity of ideological arguments;
- c. "acceptance" of doctrine at the intellectual level was not accompanied by emotional identification with that doctrine or any tendency to act in accordance with it;
- d. ignorance and lack of planning on the part of the Chinese Communists led to the

use of many materials and themes which produced extreme, negative reactions in the prisoners;

- e. characteristically American tendencies, including a distrust of political dogma, in general, and an aversion to communist dogma, in particular, made Air Force prisoners of war particularly resistant to communist indoctrination.

3. Testimony of returned prisoners of war regarding their own feelings of unpreparedness and inadequacy in dealing with communist arguments are interpreted here as reflections of some basic sources of strong resistance to indoctrination—in particular, of apolitical and "anti-political" attitudes, and of an unquestioning faith in American principles and in the United States.

One result of the official evaluation of the behavior of American prisoners in Korea was a recommendation that a program of political education was required to better prepare military personnel to resist indoctrination efforts in the event of capture (20). The conclusions of this study suggested that such a program would have to overcome serious gaps in the political information and understanding of most personnel, if it were to equip men to deal effectively with Communist indoctrination content at an intellectual and philosophical level. In approaching such an objective, the interpretations in this paper indicate that an ill-conceived program might actually undermine some of the important bases of resistance most personnel already possess. Specifically, it was concluded that a program of political education might have negative consequences:

- (a) if it undermined the distrust most personnel have for any

dogma;

- (b) if it made persons feel that they "have the answer" in areas regarding which they remain relatively ignorant, despite instruction;
- (c) if it made men feel guilty about being apolitical.

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SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD DISCHARGED MENTAL PATIENTS

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This paper reports a study of socially unfavorable attitudes exhibited toward persons who have had a mental illness. It attempts to reveal some of the social factors associated with avoidance reactions toward recuperating patients, and to indicate some of the ways in which these reactions may affect post-hospital adjustment. Both lay and professional observers have pointed out that a lingering social stigma attaches to newly discharged patients, and that consequently their social relations often are characterized by social distance, distrust or denial of employment (5, p. 460). Such patterns of avoidance may constitute a type of social isolation which could have adverse effects on those confronted by it.

One of the implications of the social-isolation hypothesis used in etio-

logical studies is that the presence of intolerant, unfavorable attitudes in the community tends to increase the likelihood of relapse and rehospitalization. Although this study will not directly test this hypothesis, it will present evidence suggesting how such social factors may affect the post-hospital experience of discharged patients.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The research is based on the assumption that the attitudes of other persons which impinge on discharged mental patients may be explored by means of an attitude scale. During the summer of 1956, a scale designed for this purpose was administered to a stratified sample of 2001 persons scattered throughout 17 parishes (counties) in Louisiana. The eight items composing the scale (see Table

1) are phrased so as to emphasize the concept of avoidance—i.e., the tendency to shun contacts with persons who have had a mental illness. Collectively, the items are designed to measure unfavorable reactions which may deny or restrict social interaction opportunities for such persons. Thus, respondents who say they would not hire, associate with, or live near discharged mental patients presumably reveal avoidance attitudes which could have unfavorable, isolating effects.

ment a person would incur in giving a favorable response. Those items with less than 90 per cent consensus were discarded. The retest reliability coefficient, computed from summation scores of 37 persons scattered throughout the city of New Orleans and retested 8 days later is .83 ($p < .01$). For the entire sample of 2001 subjects the reliability coefficient computed by the Kuder-Richardson formula is .87 (3). The test meets the requirements of a Guttman-type scale. It has a co-

TABLE 1
KEYED FAVORABLE RESPONSES AND EGO-INVOLVEMENT
RATINGS OF SCALE ITEMS

Ego-involvement rating*	Favorable response	Item
A	Disagree	1. It is best not to associate with people who have been in mental hospitals.
	Agree	2. It is wrong to shy away from people who have had mental disorders.
B	Disagree	3. It would bother me to live near a person who had been in a mental hospital.
	Disagree	4. I would not ride in a taxi driven by someone who had been in a mental hospital.
C	Disagree	5. I would rather not hire a person who had been in a mental hospital.
	Disagree	6. School teachers who have been in mental hospitals should not be allowed to teach.
D	Disagree	7. I would be against any daughter of mine marrying a man who had been to see a psychiatrist about mental problems.
	Agree	8. If I needed a baby sitter, I would be willing to hire a woman who had been going to see a psychiatrist.

*The symbols, A, B, C, and D, are labels for each pair of statements, arranged in a rank order by professional judges according to the amount of ego-involvement a favorable response is likely to call forth. Thus, giving a favorable reply to "A" (items 1 and 2) was judged to make the least demands on the values and interests of the self of the respondent, whereas a favorable reply to "D" (items 7 and 8) was judged to incur the greatest degree of ego-involvement.

The items composing the scale were selected from a larger battery of pretest items having relatively high discrimination values as determined by the Likert method. Professional judges rated each item according to (a) whether agreement or disagreement with it reflected attitudes believed to be unfavorable to the social and psychological adjustment of the patient and (b) the degree of ego-involvement

efficient of reproducibility of .91 as determined by the method described by Edwards (2, pp. 184-190).

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

For convenience the findings of this study will be presented in two parts. The first concerns sources of variation among unfavorable attitudes toward discharged patients—i.e., the status variables, such as race, occupation,

education and income to which these attitudes may be related. Knowledge of such variations is important in identifying the social environment to which recuperating patients are returned. The second part presents evidence of certain social-psychological determinants of these unfavorable attitudes. Specifically, the purpose will be to show how primary-group values reflected in the ego-involvement ratings of the items are correlated with the tendency to avoid contact with persons who have been treated for mental illness.

Sources of Variation. A total of 12 variables were examined for evidence of a relationship with the test scores. Six of these—sex, religion, rural-urban residence, home ownership, having visited a mental hospital, and reported cases of mental illness in the family—showed no correlation whatever with the tendency to avoid social relations with recovering mental patients. Briefly, these findings indicate that in their attitudes toward mental patients, men are no more favorable than women, people living in cities do not differ from their rural counterparts, and Protestants do not differ from Catholics. Nor do Protestants

differ among themselves when the effects of education are held constant. Similarly, persons who have visited and seen the inside of a mental hospital are no more favorable in their attitudes than others. This finding fails to support the belief that opening the doors of mental institutions to the public is an effective method of changing social attitudes toward mental patients. Finally, the total lack of any relationship between the test scores and reported cases of mental illness in the family indicates that avoidance attitudes are unaffected by personal knowledge of, and contact with, relatives who have had these disorders.

On the other hand, six sociological variables were found to be associated with avoidance reactions (see Table 2). When the means and correlation coefficients of each are compared, age emerges as the most substantial source of variation. It is followed, in a rank order, by education, race, income, occupation, and marital status. As estimated by the data given in Table 2, the most favorable social environment for recuperating mental patients occurs among young, educated,

TABLE 2

MEANS AND CORRELATIONS OF SUMMATION SCORES FOR AGE, EDUCATION, RACE, INCOME, OCCUPATION, AND MARITAL STATUS*

VARIABLES	n	\bar{X}	F	df	p <	r
<i>Age</i>						
15-35	942	12.2				
36-55	727	13.6				
56-up	332	15.5	86.2	2	.01	.42
<i>Education</i>						
0-9 years	726	14.4				
10-12 years	857	12.9				
13-up	418	12.0	38.1	2	.01	.28
<i>Race</i>						
White	1659	12.9				
Negro	342	14.6	19.4	1	.01	.22
<i>Income</i>						
Over \$4,000	904	12.4				
Under \$4,000	1097	14.0	38.1	1	.01	.18
<i>Occupation</i>						
Bus. & Prof.	238	13.0				

Clerical	330	12.2				
Skilled	357	13.4				
Unskilled	290	14.6				
Housewife	785	13.4	18.5	4	.01	.15**
Marital Status						
Single	348	13.1				
Married	1521	13.2				
Other	132	14.6	12.3	2	.01	.15**

*The higher the mean the more unfavorable the attitude toward ex-mental patients. The summation score is the sum of the weighted responses to the eight individual items used in the scale. Favorable, undecided, and unfavorable responses were respectively weighted 1, 2, 3. The maximum range of the test scores is from 8 through 24.

**Business and professional dichotomized with other; housewives omitted. Married and other are dichotomized.

married whites engaged in relatively well-paid clerical or professional occupations. It is these groups that exhibit the greatest proportion of favorable responses. The differences within each of these variables are significant at or beyond the .01 level of confidence.

One could infer from these differences that patients belonging to such groups would find the social environment more hospitable and thus be able to make a more successful readjustment to the community. Evidence suggesting that this may be true is reported in a study by Adler, et al. (1), who find that patients who are young, married, above average in education, and engaged in white-collar occupations have the highest probability of making successful post-hospital adjustments. With the exception of race, these are the same social groups which have shown the greatest inclination to accept released mental patients. It should be added that whether this apparent correlation has any functional significance remains to be demonstrated by further research.

As noted above, age is the most substantial source of variation in the test scores. The coefficient of correlation is .42, and it accounts for 18 per cent of the variance associated with unfavorable attitudes. When all six variables are combined in a multiple correlation, the predictable variance is raised to 21 per cent ($R_{123456} =$

.46). This relatively slight increase in predictive validity indicates that the observed differences between the six sociological variables are apparently due to some common factor which is unevenly distributed among them. In other words, the variations associated with race, education, income, occupation, and marital status are probably manifestations of the same factor that is responsible for age differences.

As to what this factor might be, it is likely that some form of culturally generated liberalism is responsible for the variance associated with age. This interpretation would agree well with the findings of Woodward (6), who reports differences among age groups which are highly similar to those found here. Such age variations should be regarded as manifestations of cultural changes in attitudes toward mental illness. The favorable responses among young persons probably reflect liberal attitudes of contemporary society, whereas the relatively unfavorable reactions of older persons reflect learned attitudes carried over from earlier decades. This hypothesis appears more tenable than that which would attribute the unfavorable responses of older persons to psychological conservatism produced by aging. One reason for this is that the multiple correlation shows that age shares a large part of its common-factor variance with education, income, and oc-

cupation. These variables are usually correlated with liberal, humanitarian attitudes; and it is unlikely that variations among these latter variables are produced by the conservatism of growing old.

Ego-involvement. The status variables described above cast some light on the general picture of unfavorable sentiment toward mental patients who have been returned to the community. This general pattern is useful for descriptive purposes but leaves much to be desired from the standpoint of locating the factors in the social environment that result in avoidance reactions. With the data at hand it can

factor has been tentatively identified here as ego-involvement (4).

The manner in which ego-involvement comes into play may be determined by considering the distribution of responses for the individual items used in the scale. Table 3 shows that the spread in the per cent of favorable replies varies from a low of 15 to a high of 81. The average person, thus, is able to show sympathetic acceptance of recovered patients in some situations but not in others. Why is this so? A partial answer is provided by considering each item in relation to its ego-involvement rating. The items in Table 3 have been ranked by pro-

TABLE 3
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAVORABLE REPLIES FOR
EACH INDIVIDUAL ITEM USED IN THE SCALE*

VARIABLES	Item Number and Ego Involvement Rating								n
	A		B		C		D		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
<i>Age</i>									
15-35	85	76	72	66	64	54	44	17	942
36-55	80	72	67	56	56	45	32	14	727
56-up	69	61	61	39	37	28	19	14	332
<i>Education</i>									
0- 9 years	72	65	65	42	52	37	31	14	726
10-12 years	85	74	68	62	59	50	37	14	857
13-up	87	79	72	69	61	58	41	18	418
<i>Race</i>									
White	83	75	68	61	58	48	34	15	1659
Negro	68	58	69	42	49	38	42	15	342
<i>Income</i>									
Over \$4,000	86	77	71	67	61	54	38	16	904
Under \$4,000	76	67	66	50	53	41	34	14	1097
<i>Occupation</i>									
Bus. & Prof.	87	75	73	64	53	50	35	18	239
Clerical	85	77	71	68	66	56	42	17	330
Skilled	80	75	66	61	62	44	36	14	357
Unskilled	72	59	65	46	53	37	36	16	290
Housewife	81	73	68	55	52	47	33	14	785
<i>Marital Status</i>									
Single	79	67	68	59	61	48	40	18	348
Married	82	74	70	59	57	48	35	14	1521
Other	70	64	65	45	43	30	29	16	132
<i>All Groups</i>	81	72	68	58	57	47	36	15	2001

*The item numbers in this table correspond with those in Table 1.

be shown that a more specific social-psychological factor is partly responsible for the somewhat marginal social position of the recovered patient. This

professional judges according to the degree to which a favorable response would be likely to engage values or interests that are important to the ego

of the respondent. They are grouped in pairs, designated by the symbols A, B, C, and D, indicating a rank order from low to high amounts of ego-involvement. Reading from left to right in the column totals of the table, we may observe that there is a steady decrease in the per cent of favorable responses as each item becomes increasingly saturated with ego-involvement. Thus, the more closely social relations with recovered patients tend to involve ego values, the greater the tendency to avoid social contacts with them.

For purposes of illustration, let us consider the first question in each pair of ranked items. Item 1, with a low ego-involvement rating, asks the respondent whether it is best not to associate with ex-mental patients. It has no direct reference to the self, and by disagreeing with it (i.e., giving the favorable response) a person may merely disapprove the practice of shunning persons who have had mental disorders. No immediate demands are made on the individual in terms of his job, his physical safety, or his family, etc. It is "safe" to give a favorable reply because nothing of personal value is committed by doing so. Favorable replies (81 per cent) are higher for this item than for any other in the scale.

Item 3, with a slightly higher ego-involvement rating (B), asks the respondent whether it would bother him to live near a person who had been in a mental hospital. Although no obvious social values of the self are directly implicated by the question, there is the implied possibility of some primary-group interaction with the discharged patient. Favorable replies drop to 68 per cent ($p < .01$). Items 5 and 7, with ratings of C and D respectively, have considerably more ego-involvement. Here the individual is asked to commit himself in a way

that may touch directly upon values of the self. Item 5 asks him to indicate his willingness to employ an ex-mental patient, and item 7 asks him to approve his daughter's marriage to a man who had been undergoing psychiatric treatment. The percentages of favorable replies are 57 and 36 respectively, both significantly less than either of the first two items ($p < .01$). In short, some persons who are able to act favorably toward mental patients in situations involving relatively abstract values are unable to do so when such action specifically involves the family or other more immediate values of the self. As to the amount of association between ego-involvement and such unfavorable reactions, an estimate is provided by a tetrachoric correlation coefficient, computed by dichotomizing the rank order (A + B against C + D). The resulting value of r is .46.

Table 3 contains an additional category of information which indicates that ego-involvement may be an important factor in the tendency to avoid social relations with recuperating patients. This is the response distribution for occupational groups in answer to item 5, which asks the individual about willingness to hire an ex-mental patient. It is particularly noteworthy that of all occupational groups, only employers show a significant decrease in favorable replies to this question. They are no more inclined to hire recovered mental patients than are unskilled workers, who are the most unfavorably oriented of any occupational group for all other items in the scale. The most favorable of all groups is composed of persons in clerical work. Two-thirds of them are willing to employ ex-mental patients as compared with only 53 per cent of both unskilled laborers and business and professional groups. Relative to other items in the scale,

the white-collar group does not show any decrease in its willingness to employ these patients.

The findings suggest that persons who are in a position to hire mental patients are among the ones who are most reluctant to do so. This unexpected result supports the hypothesis given above—that favorable reactions to returned mental patients are inversely related to the proximity of ego values. Employers are apparently willing to be favorable toward the recovered patient except in situations which touch directly on their occupational interests. This contrasts with the situation for white-collar groups, who rarely play the role of employers and who continue to show the same relatively high proportion of favorable responses to the question of hiring recovered patients. Presumably, the employer perceives the hiring of released patients as a threat to his vested interests.

CONCLUSIONS

The measures of avoidance reactions employed in this study may be taken as tentative indications of socially unhealthy environments for recovering mental patients. At present, these measures should be regarded as roughly approximate because of the limitations inherent in polling methods and because they do not reflect all factors in the social environment to which recuperating patients are exposed. A more thorough design would require additional measures of relevant interpersonal factors affecting discharged patients.

With due recognition of these limitations, the chief implications for assessing the relationship between unfavorable social attitudes and post-hospital adjustment may be stated as follows. Tendencies to shun or to restrict social interaction with ex-patients are most likely to be present in

situations which involve important self values. The r of .46 between ego-involvement and avoidance reactions indicates that freedom of social participation among returned patients is greatest in secondary groups and least in primary groups. This inference stems from the findings which show that the perception of a discharged patient as a threatening or unwanted social object is partly a function of a defining social context which brings ego values of others into the situation. These ego values may be translated into sociological terms as being somewhat equivalent to primary-group values. When the data in Table 3 are examined in this light, it becomes apparent that favorable responses to scale items are mainly a function of the remoteness of the question to primary group situations. Thus, a tentative conclusion is that attitudes of social acceptance or tolerance of discharged patients are greatest in relatively impersonal situations, and that so long as primary-group values are not implicated the patient is conceived as a relatively neutral, non-threatening object.

From a sociological standpoint this may be regarded as a relatively unhealthy situation for the released and still recovering mental patient. Since most ego-involvements are presumably concerned with dominant value orientations within the community, the pattern of avoidance revealed here suggest that the patient risks a certain amount of social isolation through curtailed interaction opportunities in primary groups.

This interpretation should be given serious attention in evaluating attitude studies which reveal changes toward a more favorable public understanding of mental illness. For example, both Woodward's and the present study provide some evidence of the growth of liberal attitudes to-

ward mental illness. Since social areas other than mental illness have undergone similar degrees of liberalization in recent decades, this evidence is not surprising. There may be some question, however, as to whether the indicated changes have taken place on the primary-group level, where interpersonal relations come into play as possible determinants of personality integration.

Finally, it should be added that the implications of this apparently more basic social factor should be of interest to mental hygienists. To the extent that abstractly learned attitudes have little favorable effect in situations where ego values are involved, there is some doubt as to the ultimate effectiveness of attempts to produce public "understanding" of mental ill-

ness as a means of improving the health status of recuperating patients.

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CHANGES IN MORAL VALUES OVER THREE DECADES, 1929-1958

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This paper reports on an investigation of changes in moral judgments of college students from 1929 to 1958. Crissman (2, 3) investigated changes for the period 1929-1939, and then again for 1949.* The current authors repeated the study in 1958 at the Ohio State University, as part of a larger investigation of moral sanctions. The data were submitted to factor analysis and changes in items grouped according to the factors extracted were noted

in (7). The purpose of this paper is to report patterns of change in moral values. Because of differences in regions, as well as probable differences in age, religious affiliation, and social class composition of the various college samples, changes noted cannot be interpreted as being solely due to time factors.

Nineteen twenty-nine is perhaps best remembered as a pre-depression year. It is characteristically described as a period of "flaming youth" involving an atmosphere of elation as well as rebellion against conventionalized mores.

The depression which followed undoubtedly left a marked impression upon the college student of 1939. Re-

*Crissman secured replies to a moral judgment questionnaire from 146 male and 149 female students at Northwestern in 1929; in 1939, he obtained replies from 276 male and 277 female students, and in 1949 from 290 female and 301 male students at the University of Wyoming. He intends repeating the study in 1959 at the University of Wyoming.

bellion at that time, if it occurred, was typically directed against business and industry. World War II was imminent, but not upon us, although opposition to totalitarian movements abroad played an important role. The New Deal injected an atmosphere of liberalism which most probably permeated moral issues as well.

In 1949, World War II was still fresh in the memory of many college-enrolled G.I.'s. The draft took many college youth into the Armed Forces, while others remained temporarily to finish their studies before joining.

The year 1958 brings us into the atomic and missile age. Passengers for the first flight to the moon had already signed up. At the same time, a new recession hit the American economy. Unemployment rose beyond the five million mark. For the incoming classes at college, memories of World War II and the Korean War are fading, and the last college enrolled G.I.'s are graduating. The white collar, new middle class has steadily grown (5), as has the corporate power (6). More college students come from the middle class today than at any previous time. With the emergence of the new middle class and corporate power, one would expect a rise in middle class and corporate moral values. The "return to religion" movement (1), the increased moral condemnation of property crimes, suicide, mercy killing, and perhaps divorce, should find expression in our data. On the other hand, the moral condemnation of living beyond one's means, false advertisement claims, unfair competition, living on inherited wealth, and anti-labor policies might be expected to show a decline. Finally, more enduring moral prohibitions should show little if any changes: prohibitions that derive from the puritanical outlook on sex and perhaps those that assure the basic democratic form of voting be-

havior, since these, historically, preceded the growth of the new middle class and of corporate power.

METHOD

To make the present results comparable to those obtained by Crissman, the method of data collection was made as similar as possible to his. The identical questionnaire, consisting of 50 moral prohibitions, was administered to 489 undergraduate students, 204 males and 285 females, in an elementary sociology course. Subjects were asked to indicate the degrees of "rightness" or "wrongness" of each prohibition. The following instructions preceded the questionnaire.

This questionnaire presents 50 acts or situations which you are to evaluate in terms of "rightness" or "wrongness" ranging from 1 to 10. Encircle the 1 if the item seems least wrong or not wrong at all, and the 10 if the item is judged most wrong or "wrongest" possible. Use the in-between numbers for in-between degrees of "wrongness", the higher the number, the more wrong it becomes.

The respondents, who remained anonymous, were given an explanation of the overall purpose of the study, without, however, familiarizing them with the previous results or expected changes.

RESULTS

Patterns of Change. The following patterns of change were discerned. Items falling into each of these patterns may be found in Table 1.

1. *Decline in severity of moral judgments.* This pattern appears if the judgements decrease in severity. The decrease may be more or less consistent.
2. *Increase in severity of moral judgments.* This pattern appears if the judgments increase in severity.
3. *Depression hump.* The depression hump consists of a rise in severity of moral judgments in the 1939 sample only.

4. *Depression fall.* The depression fall consists of a decrease in severity of moral judgment in the 1939 sample only.
5. *Stability.* Stability is indicated if the judgments do not fluctuate by more than 2 or 3 positions over the years.

An additional subpattern is the "1958 rise". This pattern appears as a substantial rise in severity of judgment in the 1958 sample only, so that the 1958 sample exceeds all previous samples in severity of judgment. Items that do not fall into any of the above patterns vary inconsistently (pattern 7).

The total average rating of the 1958 sample is 6.83 as compared with 6.58 for the 1949 sample, 6.21 for the 1939 sample and 6.15 for the 1929 sample. The higher ratings in 1958 may be due to a variety of reasons, such as greater severity of moral standards, different response set (4), or merely an increased superficial verbal profession of moral sanctions. Since the exact reasons cannot be determined from the data, all of the data were converted into ranks, ranging from least bad, or not bad at all (rank 1) to worst or "wrongest" possible (rank 50), permitting more interpretable comparisons among the four columns. Statistical computations based on ranks also do not necessitate assumptions of equality of intervals or normality of distribution.* Since the composition of male and female students is not strictly comparable in the various samples, the 1949 and 1958 values were adjusted so as to equalize the proportion of males and females.**

*That these assumptions are not warranted has been shown by Crissman.

**The 1939 sample contained 50 per cent males and 50 per cent females, the 1929 sample had 51 per cent females, but the separate data for males and females were

Thirteen items fall into pattern 1 (decline in severity of moral judgments). Inspection of the declining items reveals that six of these items pertain to *social morality*:*** items 12, 47, 35, 20, 42, and 22. Two of the social morality items (items 42 and 22) could be classified as corporate morality. (Items 18 and 29 in pattern 4 which are of similar nature also show such a decline since 1939). Item 12 could be considered a form of collective morality in which the source of responsibility for the action is not attributed to a single person, nor is the recipient of the action an individual. (Item 46 in pattern 4 which also pertains to collective morality shows a similar decline in 1958). Item 35 pertains to "social parasitism". Items 15 and 31 relate to bootlegging which would be expected to show a decline in severity of judgment.

Pattern 2 (increase in severity of moral judgments) includes 11 items. The first item, showing the greatest increase in severity of judgment, deals with the *sanctity of the individual life* (see also item 8 in pattern 4). Of the other items, three deal with religious behavior, three with crime, two with

***For the definition of social morality we quote Von Wiese: "Genau gesprochen, musste also Sozialethic definiert werden als ein Komplex von sittlichen Anforderungen, die an Menschen als Glieder von Körperschaften und Gruppen gestellt werden, sei es, dass man das individuelle Verhalten gegen diese Mehrschaften, sei es, dass man das kollektive Verhalten der die Mehrschaften bildenden Menschen meint" (8, p. 190). Social Ethic is seen here as the morality of the individual toward the collective as well as the morality of the collective.

lost (2, p. 37). Also, the data for the total 1929 sample and total 1939 sample were erroneously tabulated in reverse in Crissman's publication (from personal communication). Since the individual data of the previous samples were not available, no statistical tests of significance of changes in moral values could be made.

voting behavior, and one each with perjury and divorce.

Pattern 3, depression hump, includes four items. These four items do not appear to be interrelated but are directed at specific issues which include the hero worship of gangsters, drunk driving, and living beyond one's means.

Six items correspond to pattern 4, depression fall. The first two items, showing the greatest depression fall (items 21 and 9), indicate a decline in political responsibility during the post-depression era. Items 29 and 18 pertain to corporate morality. Item 8 relates to mercy killing. The latter is the only item which shows a rise in condemnation since the post-depression era.

There are six items in pattern 5, stability. Four of these show little change, possibly because of their already extreme positions (high or low). Refusal to bear arms and cheating on income tax show remarkable stability, which is unaffected by the depression, by increased military spending, or by changes in social class position of college student samples.

Three items show a marked rise in moral condemnation in the most recent sample (pattern 6). The first of these items reflects an increased respect for insurance policies. Item 37 is associated with increased religious morality, and item 27 appears to show an increased respect for the honor system. However, this increased respect for the honor system is not born out by item 24 (pattern 1).

Seven items do not show any consistent pattern, but fluctuate irregularly. These are listed under pattern 7. However, five of these items show a rise in 1939 and 1949 and then a return to their original height.

Sex differences. There is a marked consistency between male and female

responses to the items. The rank order correlation between the males and females in the 1958 sample is .94. This correlation can be compared to that obtained by Crissman in the 1939 sample of .96 and the 1949 sample of .95.

Over time, sex differences in ratings have greatly increased on items 3 (having sex relations while unmarried) and 30 (falsifying a federal income tax return). Item 3, for which the rank difference between males and females increased from 14 in 1939 to 24 in 1958, suggests a widening double standard of sex morality. Item 30, with rank differences of 1 and 12 in 1939 and 1958 respectively, indicates that tax evasion is especially condemned today by females, who rarely fill out income tax returns, while males have decreased in condemnation of this act.

Sex differences in ratings which have become considerably less pronounced are demonstrated in item 9 (a legislator, for a financial consideration, using his influence to secure the passage of a law known to be contrary to public interest). While males have "fallen" on this item from rank 45 in 1949 to rank 35 in 1958, females remained at the same rank (31), with the result that the gap between the sexes has narrowed markedly.

Item 25 (not giving to support religion when able) shows the greatest reversal in male and female position since 1939. For 1939, the ranks on this item are 11 for males and 15 for females; for 1958, these ranks were 22 for males and 18 for females. While both sexes indicate increased rejection of this behavior, the increase is more marked among the males, with the result that today males condemn the lack of support of religion more than do the females.

DISCUSSION

In interpreting the findings, a word

of caution is, again, necessary. It is impossible to determine from the data the degree to which the differences obtained are a function of a genuine change in moral values over time, a difference in the regional backgrounds of the various college student samples, or an increase in a superficial verbal adherence to the mores. If we can make the assumption that the regional differences of the various college student samples are minimal compared to the changes that occurred over a period of 10 to 30 years, and that differential superficial adherence to cultural values is at least to some degree an expression of differences in deeper genuine moral value changes, then the obtained shifts become more meaningful.

In the light of the above assumption it can be stated that there appears to be an increase in the severity of moral standards in those prohibitions that may be associated with the sanctity of the individual life, and those that assure the basic democratic form of voting behavior. The increased moral rejection of violation of voting behavior may reflect an increased awareness and self-examination of the heritage of the democratic form of government, possibly due to an increase in the number of claims that democratic values are being challenged today more than at any other time. Furthermore, as expected, there has been a marked increase in religious values since 1929.

Those violations that involve collective irresponsibility and those violations on the part of business which tend to support the corporate system, the so-called "sinning by syndicate" (2, p. 36) have become increasingly acceptable since 1929. Collective irresponsibility refers to the use of poison gas and exploitation of weaker nations. The corporate morality includes low wages for workers, living

beyond one's means, selling below cost for purposes of competition, living on inherited wealth, and misrepresenting the values of an investment to induce buying.

The two items that show the most significant rise in moral condemnation are "taking one's own life" (suicide), which rose consistently by 16 ranks and "a doctor allowing a badly deformed baby to die," (mercy killing) which rose consistently by 14 ranks since 1939. From these two items it becomes apparent that there has been a consistent and very significant increase in the expressed value, or perhaps the sanctity, of the life of the individual human being. The increase in the sanctity of the life of the human being is a very peculiar one, however, since it only involves the *single* individual. The findings indicate that it is more acceptable today to use poison gas on the homes and cities of the enemy behind the lines than it was at any time since 1929. It is, in fact, today more acceptable to use poison gas on the civilian enemy than it is to forge a check or to commit adultery. It is, on the other hand, more evil to commit suicide, to drive an automobile while drunk without accident, or to falsify a federal income tax return than it is to deal unjustly with a weak nation over which a stronger nation has power. These results indicate that there is no increase in the preciousness of individual lives when the lives involved are more impersonal ones. This apparent inconsistency about the value of human life seems to reflect the varying degree of definiteness about the sources of responsibility in these actions. Suicide and mercy killing leave no doubt about the specific responsible agent. Actions which are ascribed to whole nations make the attribution of responsibility vague and generalized. The individual has little or no control about such ac-

tions; he feels powerless. Such collective responsibility eliminates most personal feelings of guilt. Collective responsibility also creates an attitude of indifference toward the action as well as toward the human lives involved. Such a state of indifference may be especially facilitated by the fact that Americans have not suffered much during any recent war.

The changes in moral judgments on the part of college students indicate the increasing influence of the corporate system upon the educated in our society.* It appears that in American society moral standards are determined more and more by the dominant world of business and production. Because of the competitive nature of this world, the standards are of the nature of "practical morality," in which the rewards are desired as soon as possible. Any means which increase the efficiency of obtaining the rewards are themselves highly valued. The cultural and religious heritage of moral values and the dominant orientation of "practical morality" in American society, and to some degree in most of western civilization, produce a double standard. This double standard is not necessarily hypocritical, for hypocrisy implies an awareness, recognition, and purposeful utilization of such double standards. This ambiguous morality does not apply equally to all aspects of life. It is more divergent in some spheres, and less in others. It will also most probably not occur equally among all strata of society. It will presumably be greatest in the middle class.

Definitive predictions about moral values in the future are very difficult, since these values are sensitive to many external variables. Perhaps an important finding of this study is the

*Increased corporate influence may be especially strong in highly industrialized Ohio.

great lack of stability of many moral values. The average judgment changes its position by 6.5 ranks. The moral values appear to change with economic cycles, with changes in the political world within and surrounding the United States, and with major changes in population characteristics. The most stable moral attitudes found in this study lie in the areas of birth control, adultery, pacifism, cheating on income tax returns, and hit and run. These would be among the best predictors of future American moral standards.

This study points out that moral values do undergo change. The American culture lends itself to such changes not only because of its own diversification of cultural goals, but also because of the extremely important moral ideal of freedom. This ideal of freedom includes not only the freedom to choose goals but also the freedom to change one's mind.

Any study such as this invariably raises more questions than it solves. Among the problems unanswered by this investigation are those pertaining to the generality of the findings. Would these results be applicable if the samples were derived from a non-college student population, especially from among different strata of society? How consistent and stable are these findings in relation to age? To what degree are these moral prohibitions a function of what the college student brings to the university, and to what degree are they a function of his formal training? What happens to these moral prohibitions when the student leaves the academic setting?

These and other questions must, for the time being, remain unanswered. It is the hope of the investigators, however, that such problems will not remain unsolved. Democratic moral values are challenged not only by totalitarian principles, but also by

technological, scientific, and economic upheavals within society. The search for an answer to these problems, therefore, falls directly within the jurisdiction and responsibility of the educator and the scientist.

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TABLE 1
PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN MORAL JUDGMENTS, 1929-1958

PATTERN 1

Items Which Decline in Severity of Moral Judgments (In Ranks)					
Items*		1929	1939	1949	1958
(12)	A nation dealing unjustly with a weaker nation over which it has power	40	35	34	28
(47)	Slipping out secretly and going among people when one's home is under quarantine for a contagious disease	45	46	37	34
(35)	Living on inherited wealth without attempting to render service to others	18	11	11	7
(20)	Not giving to charity when able	22	19	19	12
(31)	Buying bootleg liquor under prohibition law	21	18	12	13
(42)	Misrepresenting the value of an investment in order to induce credulous persons to invest	41	36	35	33
(48)	A man deserting a girl whom he has got into trouble without himself taking responsibility	50	48	44	42
(1)	Killing a person in defense of one's own life	6	5	1	1
(22)	A strong commercial concern selling below cost to crowd out a weaker competitor	19	16	17	14
(15)	Bootlegging under prohibition law	26	24	16	21
(24)	A student who is allowed to grade his own paper reporting a higher grade than the one earned	31	30	29	27
(13)	A jury freeing a father who has killed a man for rape against his young daughter	10	8	6	6
(23)	Falsifying about a child's age to secure reduced fare	12	10	10	9

PATTERN 2

Items Which Increase in Severity of Moral Judgments (In Ranks)					
Items		1929	1939	1949	1958
(36)	Taking one's own life (assuming no near relatives or dependents)	16	15	25	31

(10)	Testifying falsely in court when under oath	36	40	40	48
(49)	Disbelieving in God	11	22	22	23
(19)	Holding up and robbing a person	37	42	45	47
(25)	Not giving to support religion when able	9	13	18	19
(4)	Forging a check	38	38	39	45
(43)	Taking money for one's vote in an election	33	34	38	39
(39)	Seeking amusement on Sunday instead of going to church	5	9	8	11
(34)	Depositing more than one ballot in an election in order to aid a favorite candidate	32	31	32	36
(33)	Seeking divorce because of incompatibility when both parties agree to separate (assuming no children)	1	1	4	5
(2)	Kidnaping and holding a child for ransom	46	50	50	50

PATTERN 3

Items Comprising the Depression Hump (In Ranks)

Items		1929	1939	1949	1958
(44)	Newspapers treating crime news so as to make hoodlums and gangsters appear heroic	35	44	41	40
(17)	Driving an automobile while drunk but without accident	28	33	27	29
(26)	Keeping over-change given by a clerk in mistake	17	21	14	16
(14)	Living beyond one's means in order to possess luxuries enjoyed by friends and associates	14	17	16	10

PATTERN 4

Items Comprising the Depression Fall (In Ranks)

Items		1929	1939	1949	1958
(21)	Not taking the trouble to vote at primaries and elections	20	12	20	20
(9)	A legislator, for a financial consideration, using his influence to secure the passage of a law known to be contrary to public interest	39	32	36	35
(29)	Charging interest above a fair rate when lending money	29	23	25	26
(46)	Nations at war using poison gas on the homes and cities of its enemy behind the lines	49	43	47	41
(18)	A prosperous industry paying workers less than a living wage	44	39	43	37
(8)	A doctor allowing a badly deformed baby to die when he could save its life but not cure its deformity	7	4	7	18

PATTERN 5

Items Which Show a Stable Pattern (In Ranks)

Items		1929	1939	1949	1958
(16)	Having illicit sex relations after marriage	48	47	48	46
(11)	Betting on horse races	3	2	3	4
(28)	Speeding away after one's car knocks down a pedestrian	47	49	49	49
(30)	Falsifying a federal income tax return	30	28	31	30
(32)	Married persons using birth-control devices	2	3	2	2

(40)	Refusing to bear arms in a war one believes to be unjust	8	7	9	8
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PATTERN 6

Items from the Most Recent Sample Showing a Marked Rise in Moral Condemnation (In Ranks)

	<i>Items</i>	1929	1939	1949	1958
(45)	A man having a vacant building he cannot rent sets it on fire to collect insurance	34	37	33	43
(27)	Copying from another's paper in a school examination	27	29	26	32
(37)	Using profane or blasphemous speech	13	14	13	17

PATTERN 7

Items That Show No Consistent Pattern (In Ranks)

	<i>Items</i>	1929	1939	1949	1958
(3)	Having sex relations while unmarried	24	25	21	22
(5)	Habitually failing to keep promises	23	26	28	24
(6)	Girls smoking cigarettes	4	6	5	3
(38)	Being habitually cross or disagreeable to members of one's own family	25	27	30	25
(41)	Advertising a medicine to cure a disease known to be incurable by such a remedy	43	45	46	44
(50)	A man not marrying a girl he loves because she is markedly his inferior socially and in education	15	20	23	15
(7)	An industry maintaining working conditions for its workers known to be detrimental to their health	42	41	42	38

*Items are numbered as in the original questionnaire.

URBAN MIGRATION AND KINSHIP TIES

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The sociological literature on urbanism and the urban way of life is firmly based on an intellectual and conceptual heritage which runs from Toennies and Simmel through Park and Burgess to Wirth, Thrasher, Zorbaugh, Faris and Dunham, Mowrer, and McKenzie. The students of Park and Burgess, with the possible exception of McKenzie, see the urban community as largely pathological. Their analysis of the family tends to stress the general decline in the significance of the family for the individual (2, p. 121). It is argued that while family and kinship are still a part of the individual's social environment, they

have been reduced and replaced by secondary associations and relations so that family and kinship are of declining importance in our society. While fewer functions are performed within the family, the ones remaining have taken on greater significance; the main residual function of the middle-class family is that of meeting individual needs (2, p. 121; 10). This change is seen as the consequence of the dysfunctionality of the urban setting for a familial relationship which is essentially rural or small-town in its basic community origin.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a modification of this analysis

in the light of empirical materials. The position taken is that the family and kinship are more important for some population elements in the urban community than for others, and hence the dysfunctional rural-to-urban "adjustment" analysis may be limited in its application. There is a growing body of empirical evidence to support this position.

Recent research on the urban community includes the Detroit Area Study (DAS) of the University of Michigan. A DAS publication reports that 49 per cent of the respondents "get together with relatives other than those living at home with them" at least once a week, and another 13 per cent reported that they get together with relatives a few times a month. Further, 44 per cent of the respondents visited most frequently with relatives (11, pp. 25-26; 4, p. 113).

The DAS findings therefore indicate that the family is highly important to many persons living in the American urban community. This conclusion is further supported by Sussman's data from detailed interviews with 97 families which were "middle class, white, Protestant, financially well to do, educated, established in their communities," and living in appropriate housing in New Haven in 1950 (14). The study encompassed 195 parent-child relationships. Sussman found that in a sizable portion of these stable urban families a pattern of parent to child help had developed. Even when the heterogeneity of community life had led to "marrying out" of "accepted" social circles insofar as the parents were concerned, the help pattern was likely to be evident. Urban middle-class kinship, then, would seem to have a relatively high degree of continuity and significance.

In New Haven, and probably also in Detroit, many of the respondents may have resided in the community

for a long period and may therefore have had time to stabilize their relationships. It may be argued that the disruption of kinship and family ties would be more evident among the most recent migrants into the urban community. This position may be derived from Freedman when he says (3, p. 130):

It is significant that the Zone in which the migrants are concentrated has characteristics customarily associated with the most distinctively urban areas of the city. Areas with the living arrangements found in the Migrant Zone have usually been described as the locus of the secular social relations, the anonymity, and the relative freedom from the restraint typically associated with urban life. The migrants are apparently attracted to areas in which are found at least the externals of the ideal-typical urban modes of life.

Existing data suggest, however, that the relationship between migration and the disruption of kinship ties may not be so direct. One of the authors in the summer and fall of 1957 completed a series of 133 interviews with relatively recent migrant Negro females into Philadelphia (1). Estimates indicated that the number of recent migrants into Philadelphia was relatively small so that area sampling was not feasible. The Philadelphia Public School system was therefore used as a source for obtaining names and addresses of parents of Negro children who had registered from school systems outside of the State from September 1954 to May 1957. Parental names were obtained from eight different public schools located in different parts of the city and among the schools with the highest out-of-state transfers in 1955. The attrition rate of unlocated potential respondents was high: of 309 respondents sought, 43 per cent were obtained. (There were only 6 direct refusals.) One-third of the respondents came from rural areas and places of less than 1,000 population and an-

other third came from cities of 50,000 or more.*

Seventy-five (56 per cent) of the respondents reported that they had close relatives in Philadelphia (close relatives were defined as adult children, brothers and/or sisters, parents, or grandparents); sixteen (12 per cent) of the respondents said that they had no relatives in the city at all. Eighty-six (65 per cent) of the respondents said that they came to Philadelphia because relatives or friends were already there. These facts would suggest that primary group relationships are important in recruiting migrants into the urban area traditionally seen as characterized by secondary groups. The contact with relatives continued after the subjects moved into the city. Sixty-one (46 per cent) of the respondents reported that they visited with their close relatives at least once a week; 86 (64 per cent) of the respondents said that they saw their close relatives once a month or more often. The family was important on an informational, as well as a social level. Forty-nine (37 per cent) of the respondents said that relatives had served as first sources of information about housing. Many of the respondents had moved several times between in-migration and the date of interview, and relatives continued to be important sources of information about housing for 24 (18 per cent).

While these data pertain to a select population of migrants into Philadelphia and are not representative of the universe of recent Negro migrants into Philadelphia, there are some generalizations which can be made when these data are considered along with other research since the "Big Migration" of the World War I period. The significance of relatives and friends as positive influences for rural

migrants into east coast cities was brought out by Kiser in his classic study of the migration of Negroes from St. Helena (7, p. 194; 8). In a more recent study on the migration of Negroes from Mississippi to Beloit (9), Omari constructed a socio-economic index and a community index as measures of adjustment. These indexes included such items as type of residential housing, standard of living, job stability, participation in formally organized voluntary associations and other community efforts. One of the findings was that presence or absence of relatives did not seem to be associated with either index. Relatives provide aid but apparently do not facilitate adjustment. However, Omari further comments that the importance of relatives may be concealed since nearly all of the migrants had relatives in Beloit.

The studies considered to this point have dealt with Negro migrants and it may be argued that the Negro is sociologically different from the white in regard to migration and kinship ties. Related to this point is a study by Killian (6) of white migrants to Chicago from the low-lands of Tennessee and Kentucky, in which he found that the anonymity of the urban environment, as well as its heterogeneity, has encouraged the development of a Southern "ethnic" (or "hill-billy") area in Chicago. There is also a tendency for the settlement to be subdivided into "clusters" of persons who have come from the same village or open-country neighborhood. Kinship and community ties continue to be the dominant type of interpersonal relationship among these Southern white migrants. The rural and small-town patterns of visiting are maintained in the new urban setting (6, pp. 177-179, 150-151). The migrants maintain their ties with the old community through frequent visits "back

*Classification based on 1950 Census data.

home" which take place during good economic circumstances as well as poor. Thus, the Northern settlement area is regarded as an extension of the Southern home. Because of this, the children tend to grow up viewing Chicago as a temporary location rather than the "home town" (6, p. 249). The ties with the old community and kinship in the clusters within Chicago are strong factors in the residential location of newer migrants who therefore constantly reinforce the development of ethnic southern clusters within the city (6, pp. 71-80).

A study by Smith (11) in 1953 reports on 157 migrants, some of whom are Negro and some are white. Thirty-four per cent reported that they had anticipated receiving help from friends or relatives when they moved to Indianapolis. About one third of the respondents reported that they had received general orientation from relatives on arrival, and about 15 per cent reported that relatives or friends had been the sole means for finding a job. Smith's data seem to support the idea that relatives and close friends are psychologically supportive rather than functionally effective, since there was no significant difference in the median amount of time required to find the first urban job for those who had assistance from friends and relatives and those who did not (10, pp. 92-95). But friends and relatives were very important with respect to housing: 70 per cent of the Negro migrants and 80 per cent of the Southern whites reported help from friends or relatives in acquiring housing (10, p. 114). In contrast, Northern whites, most of whom come from the surrounding counties, tended to rely much less on relatives and friends.

It would seem from the discussion thus far that family, kin, and close friendships have much deeper personal

roots for migrants into the urban community than might have been anticipated. This seems to be true for both recent migrants and for those who are older and more settled. It seems also to be true for both Negroes and for whites.

It may be that primary relationships in the urban community are minimal only for certain types of migrants. Thus, Killian in his discussion of the "hillbilly tavern" suggests that the tavern serves an important social function for many single men in their twenties and thirties who had no family in Chicago. These young men had minimal ties with the Southern community through the rooms which they sub-let from Southern families. However, for them the tavern was a social center, a place "to get together with the boys" and "to meet the girls." A smaller number of married men frequented the taverns as a means of escape from crowded living quarters (5, p. 310). However, there were also large numbers of the "hillbillies" who never went to the taverns and disapproved of their existence. Those who disapproved were largely middle-aged men with families, women, and southern whites actively identified with the church in the new Chicago location. Those "respectable" people regarded the "hillbilly tavern" as a threat to basic familistic and religious values and as a threat to southern whites as an "ethnic" population because it reinforced unfavorable stereotypes (5, pp. 319-320).

The discussion has focused on populations which tended to settle in the "areas in which are found at least the externals of the ideal-typical urban modes of life." Many of the respondents came from small towns and open-country neighborly ties continue to prevail. These "rural migrants" continued to act in terms of these "old" values after migration to the urban in-

dustrial environment—a pattern similar to that which prevailed among foreign-born immigrants during the period prior to 1912. The decline of family ties seemed to have been most closely related to the young adult male migrant population who were largely rootless and were apparently unable to establish substantial local family ties. For them, the urban setting was deleterious to familistic values and encouraged impersonal relationships. Even for the young adult males there may develop a central meeting location where informal relationships can substitute for family ties, although the potential for social isolation and personal disorganization seems to be very much greater than for those with kinship ties.

Most of the migrant populations which have been mentioned would be considered lower class. It is probable that lower-class kinship activity is more direct and encompasses more of the total number of interpersonal relationships of persons than middle-class kinship activity. During and after migration the lower-class migrant turns to relatives whenever possible because it is the "natural" thing to do. If no relatives are available, the lower-class migrant may turn more readily to people from the old home area because he feels that they are like him and are therefore people that he can trust; i.e., he establishes pseudo-kin relationships.

It is in many parts of the South that one still finds the most substantial number of persons living in rural farm areas and hence a pool of persons with strong familistic values. A large proportion of the migrants into American metropolitan centers in recent years have come from the South. For example, the 1953 DAS reports found that about 30 per cent of the migrants into Detroit spent most of their lives in the South. Most of the southern

migrants, Negro or white, must be because of their insufficient training and limited background participate in the urban system on the lower-class level. Thus, 71 per cent of all Detroit Area workers in 1953 were persons who originally came from outside of the Detroit Area. One-third of all males in the labor force had lived on a farm at some time; 45 per cent of the male skilled and semi-skilled manual workers in the Detroit Area in 1953 had a farm background at some time; one in every four male skilled and semi-skilled workers in the Detroit Area had lived on a southern farm (13, p. 15).

In contrast to the lower-class, the social class literature points out that in the middle-class family ties may often be a barrier to social mobility and that the individual may desire to rid himself of his family identifications in his attempt to move upward (4, p. 97). Many class mobile, middle-class people find that they "can't go home again." If the spatially mobile migrant achieves vertical social mobility, an element in the mobility achievement is to modify, if not to drop, many of his old family ties. This estrangement is facilitated when vertical social mobility is accompanied by migration.

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THE ISOLATED NUCLEAR FAMILY: FACT OR FICTION*

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Current family theory postulates that the family in American Society is a relatively isolated social unit. This view of the family stems largely from theories of social differentiation in more complex societies.

A neolocal nuclear family system, one in which nuclear families live by themselves independent from their families of orientation, is thought to be particularly well adopted to the needs of the American economy for a fluid and mobile labor market. It is also suggested that differences in occupational status of family members can best be accepted if such individuals live some distance from each other (6, 7). Support for these theories is found in the high residential mobility of Americans: one in five families makes a move during a given year and presumably these families are nuclear ones. The existing pat-

terns of occupational and social mobility underlie this movement. It may be said that these mobility patterns "demand" a type of flexible and independent family unit.

The extended American family system, for the married person, consists of three interlocking nuclear families; the family of procreation, the family of orientation, and the one of affinal relations (in-laws) whose interrelationships are determined by choice and residential proximity and not by culturally binding or legally enforced norms. The isolation of these nuclear related families from one another is given further support in current conceptualization of family socialization patterns. Freudian analysis has stressed the difficulties confronting the individual as he seeks emancipation from the family of orientation and has interpreted many emotional problems in terms of in-law and parent-child conflict. Child rearing specialists have emphasized

*Expenses for this study were met by grant-in-aids for research from the Social Science Research Council.

that the warmth and affection of the parent-child relationship should not be chilled as a consequence of competitive activity from the grandparent, aunt, or uncle. There is, it is said, sufficient threat to an already fragile nuclear family structure through sibling rivalry and parent-child differences. Thus having parents or collateral relatives living in the home or even close by adds additional difficulties to the complicated problem of child rearing. Parents and their young offspring can therefore presumably attain a high level of functioning as a family if they are unencumbered by the presence of relatives.

Some students of ethnic relations have interpreted the breaking away of first generation members from their immigrant families as a necessary prelude to growth and assimilation into American society. In still another field, many social class theorists have emphasized the fluidity of our class system and the necessity of the individual to be shorn of family and other ties which appear to hinder his upward movement within the class system. In our values we maintain that the son is better than the father, or that he should be, and in the process of becoming somebody, or achieving a higher status, more frequently than not it is necessary to discard former identifications (particularly those with parents and kin) for newer and more appropriate ones.

Despite these basic positions there are some empirical indications that many neolocal nuclear families are closely related within a matrix of mutual assistance and activity which results in an interdependent kin related family system rather than the currently described model of the isolated nuclear family. This development, while not superseding in importance the primacy of the nuclear family, may provide a new perspec-

tive with regard to its position. This does not mean that nuclear families of procreation are increasingly living with their kin in the same households: they still live in separate residences but frequently they reside within a community with their kin and engage in activities with them that have significant mutual assistance, recreational, economic, and ceremonial functions. Nor does this mean that a new kin structure and concomitant activities have emerged. It is probable that a functioning system of kin related nuclear families has always been in existence.

The suggestion that a re-examination of the position of social isolation of the nuclear family of procreation from members of the extended family is necessary has come from many sources. Professors Sharp, Axelrod, and Blood in Detroit, Edmundson and Breed in New Orleans, Deutscher in Kansas City, Dorson in New Haven have studied family relations in the urban setting.* From these and the author's 1951 study of intergenerational family relationships (10, 11) it became evident that the concept of the atomized and isolated nuclear family is not being substantiated by empirical research.

THE CLEVELAND STUDIES

Data on kin and family relationships in Cleveland were obtained in 1956. Area probability samples were drawn from two census tracts classified by the Bell-Shevky Social Area Analysis method (1) as lower middle class and working class respectively. An adult member of 27 working class and 53 middle class households representing 3.5 per cent of the total households in each area was inter-

*See, for example (2; 3; 9). British sociologists find similar evidence of kin in East London families (14, 15).

viewed.* The general analysis of kin and family relationships is based upon the 80 cases. Specific analyses by social class are based upon a comparison of 25 matched working and middle-class family systems.

Information on kin relationships among these Cleveland families was obtained from questions about help and service exchanges, the functions of ceremonial occasions, and inter-family visitation. Help items included caring for children, help during illness, financial aid, housekeeping, advice, valuable gifts, etc. Ceremonial occasions included holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries. Questions of visits between kin included the preparing of get-togethers with relatives who lived in or out of town.

Concerning help and service exchanges, practically all families (100 per cent of the middle class and 92.5 per cent of the working class) were considered to be actively involved in a network of inter-familial help by virtue of giving or receiving one or more items of assistance listed above within a one month period preceding the interview.

This help pattern appears to exist along with high residential propinquity of related kin. Seventy per cent of the working class and 45 per cent of the middle class have relatives living in the neighborhood.**

The research findings suggest that modern means of transportation permit relatives to live in scattered areas

*The choice of census tracts was based on data reported in (4).

**A note of caution is called for on propinquity of kin. Respondents were permitted to define their own neighborhood without a spatial limitation. It was deliberately left vague because of the difficulties in arriving at an acceptable definition of neighborhood. Thus, respondents might construe the "neighborhood" to be the city of Cleveland, or a census tract, or even the street in which the house was located.

and still operate within a network of mutual aid and service. In Table 1 are enumerated specific types of help and service found within kin networks.

Help during illness is the major form of assistance provided by members of kin related families. Such assistance was given in 92 per cent of the reported illnesses which occurred among kin related families living in the neighborhood in the twelve-month period preceding the interview. Respondent-parents and respondent-sibling reciprocal patterns do not differ significantly. However, service during illness for members of kin related families living some distance from each other show a different pattern. Quantitative data is lacking on this point but case data indicate that help between distant families is given when a family member is critically or believed to be critically ill or is suffering from a long term illness. In this situation disruption of family routines is expected and a member of the well family, most frequently the middle aged parent, volunteers or is asked to come and help. There are no expectations for help in routine illnesses as found among kin related families living in the same neighborhood.

The amount of financial aid, care of children (babysitting), advice, and valuable gifts exchanged between members of kin related families is higher in this sample than found by Sharp and Axelrod in Detroit (9). The trend toward mutual aid is in the same direction. Differences in magnitude are probably due to differences in sampling and characteristics of the two populations.

Twenty-five middle were matched with 25 working class family systems, using the number of nuclear related families (parent and child) as the matching variable. That is, if the

TABLE 1

DIRECTION OF SERVICE NETWORK OF RESPONDENT'S FAMILY AND
RELATED KIN BY MAJOR FORMS OF HELP

Major Forms of Help and Service	DIRECTION OF SERVICE NETWORK				
	Between Respondent's Family and Related Kin Per Cent*	From Respond- ents to Parents Per Cent*	From Respond- ents to Siblings Per Cent*	From Parents to Re- spondents Per Cent*	From Siblings to Re- spondents Per Cent*
Any Form of Help	93.3	56.3	47.6	79.6	44.8
Help During Illness	76.0	47.0	42.0	46.4	39.0
Financial Aid	53.0	14.6	10.3	46.8	6.4
Care of Children	46.8	4.0	29.5	20.5	10.8
Advice (Personal and Business)	31.0	2.0	3.0	26.5	4.5
Valuable Gifts	22.0	3.4	2.3	17.6	3.4
*Totals do not add up to 100 per cent because many families received more than one form of help or service.					

respondent middle class family was composed of a middle aged couple (parental family) who had two married children, each of whom lived in separate households, then a working class unit of similar composition was selected to complete the matched set. An effort to match family systems on a second variable, namely, sex of the children in the family of orientation, resulted in too few cases for comparison. Matching on the sex factor as well as age of family members would be very important in the study of specific patterns of help and service between kin related families. These would include the quantity and type of aid exchanged in connection with movement of the immediate family through the life cycle. This problem will be investigated in the next phase of a longitudinal study on urban family networks. For the purpose of establishing the existence of aid networks, the matching technique used in this study is adequate.

The desideratum underlying this matching technique is that similar family systems of two social classes have equal opportunities to develop help and service patterns. The significance of differences between social classes was determined by the

differences between matched pairs and not by differences between the samples. The test for differences between samples is insensitive to specific differences between paired sets and does not take into account the opportunity variable. If the structure of the family system is important in determining help and service patterns then it must be established as a control in the analysis of these patterns by social class.

In Table 2 are found statistically significant differences in four items of help and service by social class.* So, for example, middle class more than working class parental and child families give and receive financial aid: the P value of .004 indicates that differences more extreme than that observed would occur in only four out of one thousand trials if the hypothesis of no difference was true. On the other hand, the P value of .80 indicates that in eight out of ten trials the flow of aid from parent to child would be the same for both social classes.

There is no significant difference between classes on the amount of help given or received during an illness of a family member.

*A discussion of the statistical procedure used may be found in (13, pp. v-x).

TABLE 2
DIFFERENCES IN HELP AND
SERVICE EXCHANGED BY
SOCIAL CLASS

Help and Service Items	Middle Class	Working Class	P Values
Help During Illness	same	same	.80
Financial Aid			
Amount Exchanged	more	less	.004
Flow of Aid:			
Parent to Child	same	same	.81
Care of Children	more	less	.03
Advice (Personal and Business)	more	less	.04
Valuable Gifts	more	less	.007

Controlling for distance between parents and married child's households, middle more than working class grandmothers are called upon to "take care of grandchildren." The latter are more often than the former gainfully employed. Among working class couples there is a tendency to use the available married brother or sister rather than parents for this service.

Middle more than working class family systems exchange advice and give valuable gifts to one another. The network of giving is between parents and children rather than between young married couples and their married sibling families. These differences probably reflect the economic condition and educational attainment of members of these two social classes.

Middle class more than working class parental and child families give and receive financial help. The network of giving is between parents and children rather than between young married couples and their married sibling families. The flow of financial aid is from parents to children; with respect to such flow, differences by social class are not statistically significant.

Regular social visits between parent and married child families as well as those between siblings occur mainly

between those in the same neighborhood. Difference between social classes are not significant. The median frequency for visits between young married couples and parental families during the 12 month period preceding the interview was two to three times weekly and once a week between sibling families.

Seventy-four per cent of working and 81 per cent of middle class families have large family gatherings at least once a year. Ceremonial occasions such as Christmas, anniversaries, and other holidays are used largely for the gathering of kin who live outside of the neighborhood. Approximately half of the families in both classes have large family gatherings at one of the major holidays such as Christmas, New Year, Easter, Thanksgiving or the Fourth of July. Birthdays and anniversaries, while not as popular for family reunions, are more frequently used by the middle class than the working class family as an occasion for a family gathering.

Data from another Cleveland study on population change in a given geographical area (12) supports the idea that many neolocal nuclear families are closely related within a matrix of mutual assistance and activity which results in a kin related family system.

Recently, large numbers of Southern mountain white and Negroes moved into an area of Cleveland called Hough, containing over 21,000 households. Based on a random sample of 401 households in 1957, it was found that the non-white population has risen from less than 5 per cent in 1950 to 59.3 per cent in 1957. Ninety per cent of the non-white population have lived in their present houses five years or less, while 59.7 per cent of the whites have lived in their present houses for the same period of time. This demonstrates rapid mobility and changeover from white to Negro oc-

cupancy. In the midst of this invasion-succession process we find a fascinating network of kin ties. Sixty-seven per cent of the whites and 86 per cent of the non-whites have relatives living in the Cleveland Metropolitan Area. Of these, whites have 34 per cent and non-whites 60 per cent of their kin living in the two square mile Hough area. Eleven per cent of the whites and 19.5 per cent of the non-whites have three or more families of relatives living in Hough.

Moreover, in Hough relatives are sources for financial aid, second only to banks, and for assistance in times of personal trouble second only to clergymen. When first, second, and third sources of assistance are considered, relatives are most frequently sought. Additional data on inter-family visitation and exchange of services such as child care indicates an intricate matrix of inter-family activities in Hough. Thus, even in high transitional areas of the central city social interaction revolves around kin related nuclear families. It is suggested that the evidence of propinquity of kin related nuclear families has been overlooked in researches on the urban family and in such areas as use of leisure time, social participation and population mobility.

DISCUSSION

Data have been presented which indicate that many kin related families live close to one another and are incorporated within a matrix of mutual assistance and activity. It has been suggested in the literature that individuals tend to locate wherever there is the best economic opportunity. This purports to explain, in part at least, why individuals usually establish neolocal residence some distance from their kin. Kin ties are considered *least* important in the individual's choice regarding a job, the

choice being made in terms of a "best for me" ideology. The fact is that the rate of economic mobility may be influenced by kin ties. Moreover, persons seeking a new job may now locate where their kin are already established. In such cases relatives can help new arrivals adjust to the new community and provide many of the services already described. Even new arrivals into a community may soon be followed by their relations. This has certainly been the case of ethnic and racial migrations across the United States, the Puerto Rican movement is a good example. The high residential mobility suggested by Peter Rossi (8) and others may actually be a large scale movement of families into communities where their kin are already established. The notion of economic opportunity as related to mobility is still well founded but it needs modification in view of the findings that kin ties have far more significance in the life processes of families today than we have been led to believe. Parental support to newly married couples may provide the necessary anchorages for reducing mobility. It can be hypothesized that population mobility is not higher than it is because of parental support and other kin dependencies.

Class differences in the type of help and service exchanged reflect more the differences in life styles than willingness to participate in the mutual aid network. The middle more than the working class are in a better position to give financial help and expensive gifts; and non-working middle-class grandmothers are more likely to be "free" to take care of grandchildren. The offering of advice, most likely to be given by the parent to the child, reflects middle more than working class occupational status and child rearing patterns.

A question can be asked as to why

there is today in sociological writings so much emphasis upon the social isolation of the nuclear family. Scott Greer and Ella Kube ask a similar question concerning the emphasis upon the isolation and anomic state of the urban dweller (5). The urbanite is said to be dependent upon secondary rather than primary group relationships. This view may exist because of a time lag between urban and family theory and research. It may also reflect a cultural lag between what was believed to be a generation ago (or may actually have been) and what exists today. The writings of such men as Durkheim, Simmel, Toennies, and Mannheim contain early 20th century views of family and social life in a growing urban industrial society. Durkheim's research on suicide indicated weaknesses in family structure and the effects of isolation upon the individual. In no way did he indicate the basic features of family structure which did, does today, and will tomorrow sustain its continuity on through time. In other words, a theoretical view tinted towards the ills of social and family life was implanted and subsequent research sought to ferret out the disorganizing features of social life.

The consequences of this process, using the family as an illustration, have been in abundant researches on "what is wrong with the American family", followed by a series of proposals on what should be done, and a dearth of studies on "what is right with the family." The "non-problem" functioning family, representing the majority of any society, carrying on the many daily tasks necessary for survival has not been the subject of much study. Yet examination of the non-problem family evolves an empirical base upon which there can be established the means for accurate diagnosis, evaluation, and treatment of the

problem family.

Implied, therefore, is a revision of the social problem orientation and approach to the study of social systems. The approach suggested is that empirical studies of the "normal" or "functioning" units of a social system accompany or precede those made on the problem units of the system. Once the base of what is functioning is established then it becomes possible to evaluate a social problem and to propose adequate alternative solutions.

CONCLUSION

The answer to the question "The Isolated Nuclear Family, 1959: Fact or Fiction?" is, mostly fiction. It is suggested that kin ties, particularly intergenerational ones, have far more significance than we have been led to believe in the life processes of the urban family. While these kin ties are by no means replicate the 1890 model, the 1959 neolocal nuclear family is not completely atomistic but closely integrated within a network of mutual assistance and activity which can be described as an interdependent kin family system.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PREJUDICE*

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Two quite distinct questions can be raised about the occurrence of systematic prejudice toward some minority group. The first, essentially psychological, question is: given the existence of such an ideology as part of the cultural heritage in some society, why do some persons accept it and others not? The second, more sociological, question is: under what social circumstances do the ideologies emerge or change? For the past few decades, the majority of studies of prejudice have asked the psychological question. There have been a few, however, which have dealt with the sociological issue.

Perhaps the most coherent and interesting sociological line of development is that which can be traced through Simmel (45), Weber (54), Park (39) and Becker (8; 9). This

Journal recently published a contribution to this development by Rinder (43). The principle focus of this work is on the structure of the situation in which minority groups may find themselves. Under various rubrics — pariahs, permanent minorities, marginal trading peoples, middlemen traders — racially and ethnically diverse peoples have been discussed; so, for example, Jews, Chinese, Parsis, Armenians and Scots have been included within the concept of marginal trading peoples. The key idea is that these diverse peoples develop common characteristics and are accorded a common fate by virtue of certain structural ties between themselves and the host society in which they live.

The relationships emphasized to this point are essentially economic. When other kinds of relations are treated, they are seen largely as derivatives of determining economic relationships. Thus Rinder suggests that

*I am grateful to Don Martindale for stimulating and encouraging the research on which this paper is based.

such peoples as noted above occupy visible, strategic and vital, but nevertheless despised and vulnerable, economic positions in societies characterized by what he calls a "status gap." In consequence, he further suggests, they become scapegoats *par excellence*: they are targets for such systematic prejudice as anti-Semitism in the case of the Jew.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate that (1) not all middleman traders* are in fact subjected to systematic prejudice akin to the anti-Semitism which developed in Western Europe; and (2) in the existence of negative cases can be found evidence that middleman economic position eventuates in systematic prejudice only when it is part of a complex of other structural variables.** It is also a purpose of this paper to buttress the contention that middleman economic position is an element underlying such ideologies by providing more concrete detail than is usually done in the sociological literature.

To speak of a "complex" of structural conditions, it is first necessary to identify its constituent parts. In gross terms, the elements of social structure defining the "style" of any social order*** are political relationships, i.e., patterns of behavior oriented to power or the control of persons; economic relationships, i.e., patterns centering around the production and distribution of material goods; and what may be termed "general social relationships," including religion, community

*This term is used by Howard Becker (9).

**As will become evident, our treatment includes other variables—principally value—as well as structural variables *per se*. These, however, would seem to be in this instance adjuncts to the structural variables, and are so treated.

***Possible documentation of this point would be almost coextensive with the entire product of sociology.

life, and family behavior. It is from some conjunction of such relationships that one would expect, if there are structural underpinnings to the emergence of ideologies, such systematic prejudice as anti-Semitism to emerge.

Our procedure will be to look first for peoples who have filled a status gap by occupying positions of economic middlemen. We will then ask whether ideologies comparable to anti-Semitism were elaborated by host societies. To anticipate the results of this inquiry, we will find that such ideologies do not always emerge. We will then investigate relationships other than the economic for clues as to why systematic prejudice and discrimination did or did not appear.

Obviously, the entire range of cases fitting the middlemen trading people type cannot be covered here. Apart from space limits, there is the limitation imposed by the adequacy of historical accounts. Three cases have been chosen for discussion: the Jew in 18th and 19th century Germany; the Armenian Christian in 19th and early 20th century Turkey; and the Parsi in India. The propriety and adequacy of these choices must be measured against the purposes of this paper: it is not our intention to provide definitive "proof" of an hypothesis, even if this could be done; it is rather our purpose to call attention to structural features of situations in which the middleman trading peoples find themselves which are neglected when systematic prejudice is attributed to middleman economic position *per se*.

THE JEW****

The setting for this discussion is 18th and 19th century Germany. The

****Unless otherwise specified, the materials for this section were drawn from (6; 7; 20; 21; 44).

necessity for selection in time and space merits no comment; the particular choice reflects the fact that modern anti-Semitism was both "invented" and, in the 1930's, carried to its greatest extreme here.

Economic Relationships. "The Jews were handicraftsmen where the nation had no liking for handicrafts, merchants where trade was hated, moneylenders when moneylending was necessary but forbidden, tax collectors and innkeepers when these occupations were dangerous and bringing little honor" (12, p. 20). Throughout Europe, Jews were in despised occupations, a situation having its roots in the Middle Ages. The systematic exclusion of the Jew from the land in Germany began in 1349, after the Black Death. The peculiar guild structure of the feudal period precluded their becoming artisans, forced the Jew into commerce, and from commerce, under the pressure of Christian competition, to moneylending. So-called *Hofjuden*, or court Jews, became mint-masters, directors of finance, and tax collectors. The requirements of 17th century Germany, emerging from a centuries-long battle of religion drained of its resources, led to the reentry of the Jew into commerce—the wealthy Jew engaged in large-scale trade, the broad mass of the Jewish population were hawkers, peddlers, and pawn-brokers.

In 1813, according to one estimate 70 per cent of the Jews of Germany were in commerce and trade or peddling, in 1852, 51.5 per cent, and in 1925, 49.3 per cent. In 1925, 9.8 per cent of non-Jews were in these occupations (32, p. 127). In the 19th century, Jews were also "over-represented" in such specific callings as journalism, politics, and the arts. Except in isolated cases, they did not appear in the military, among the great landowners, or, with certain re-

gional exceptions, in the heavy industries (12, Ch. 1).

This concentration reflects a negative evaluation of the specific occupations. The rank order of social honor accorded occupations in Germany (12, pp. 5-6):

... involved that, after the ruling prince, it was the officer who enjoyed the greatest respect, after him or on an equal footing with him the great landowner, after him the civil servant, then the industrialist, the artisan, the peasant, the worker. Lower than all in social esteem stood the trading class as a whole ... and within this class again, during the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the merchant who dealt in money instead of real goods; the banker, the bank director, the stockbroker ... 'merchant'—'buy-buy man,' as they liked to call him—was and remained ... a title of which the individual who belonged to the class was himself not very proud. Commission agent was almost a term of abuse, stockbroking was a despised profession. ...

Comparisons among various sections of Germany adds substance to the claim that Jews occupied despised positions. In the Rhineland, where industry was accorded high status, Jews do not appear among the founders; in Silesia, where industry was despised by landowner and peasant, Jews were in productive enterprises as well as commerce. Neither Bavaria nor Austria had the strong Prussian preference for the military; Bavaria was the only German state in which Jews became reserve officers, and Austrian Jews had little difficulty entering the Army. "... (T)he Austrian loves the Civil Service and consequently few Jews were ever found in it. ... Only in two branches of the Civil Service were the Jews always numerous, because they were not so attractive to the nationals as they tended to make the numbers in them anything but loved: among tax-assessors and in the police force the number of Jews exceeded their proportion in the population" (12, p. 17).

Anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism may be defined as an ideology inimicable to the Jew which systematically denies him free access to social values. As such, it is not, of course, peculiarly a modern product. Modern anti-Semitism does differ, however, from that of earlier periods. Historically, the grounds for revulsion of the Jew were religious; the Jew could, and often did, cease to be a Jew by renouncing his religion. In the modern version, the Jew as a member of an alien race is perpetually doomed to face the ideology growing out of this racial difference.

The components of this ideology in Germany in the late 19th century are clear: the Jews are a parasite people, living to exploit others; they are completely unoriginal, an inferior race, adept at commerce and able and willing to cheat to make money; they are shrewd and calculating; they are without patriotism; they are even devoid of honorable bonds among themselves.

There is no point in elaborating the existence of anti-Semitism in Germany; nothing that might be noted here is likely to add to the reader's information.

Political Relationships. Two aspects of the political structure of Germany in this period are pertinent; one concerns the power relationship of the Jew to the wider society, the other the political structure of the wider society itself.

It is abundantly clear that Jews in Germany were in an extremely dependent power position. Patterns developed in the Middle Ages remained in almost full force until late in the 19th century—past the period of so-called "Emancipation." So, for example, the medieval conception of the Jew as the private property of the Prince under whom he lived remained in effect at least until the latter part of the 19th century (7, Vol. II, p.

26). As late as 1815, Jews of Lubeck and Bremen were expelled from their homes (20, p. 520). Special taxes assessed Jews for (and special qualifications attached to) the right to reside in a town, the right to enter towns for trade, and the right to engage in religious practices were carried over into the 19th century. The "Infamous Decree" in force in Cologne until mid-19th century provided that Jews might engage in trade only on possession of a special certificate granted by city authorities, and gave Cologne courts the right to reduce debts owed Jews or to declare moratoriums on these debts (27, pp. 186-190). Until the end of the 19th century, restrictions forbade Jews from settling in various towns and prevented their traveling from town to town (30, pp. 248-249; 20, p. 506). Into the 19th century, the size of Jewish communities was determined by law, and laws were enacted which sought to limit the population of Jewish communities—for example, by requiring payment of marriage dues for permission to marry, and by tying the right to marriage for children other than the first to progressively higher income and tax requirements (30, pp. 189-190; 12, p. 171). In Bavaria, these conditions existed at least as late as 1845 (30, p. 250).

As for the political structure of the wider society, it is sufficient to note that the history of Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries is of a gradually evolving national state. It is the history of an expansionist national structure struggling to level the power of a nobility remaining as a heritage of the feudal order. It is the story of the effort to create a centralized political administration whose primary ideal was unity and not diversity.*

*Any standard history of Germany may be consulted for verification. The particular sources from which these statements derive are (23, 42).

General Social Relationships. Historians are in general agreement that the 18th century was a period of intensive Jewish separatism, symbolized by Ghetto walls. When they turn to the 19th century, the almost universal emphasis is on the assimilation of the German Jew. The sociologist, aware of the force of a social heritage, may find it difficult to believe that continuous periods of time were actually so dissimilar. The importance assigned by historians to particular individuals may account for their emphasis. Until emancipation, Ghetto existence accentuated communal solidarity at the expense of the emergence of "great men." After Ghetto walls fell, there were many such around whom the historian could weave his tale — Moses Mendelssohn and his family, Heine, Börne, etc. Among such men, assimilation acted as a strong motivation; but the continued existence of the traditional separation in the Jewish community as a whole should not on their account be overlooked. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, separatism was an active ideal and a *de facto* condition of Jewish communities in Germany.*

While Ghetto walls stood, externally-enforced segregation was effectively supplemented by the tight control maintained by the Ghetto community. Though somewhat modified, this held through the 19th century (27, Part IV). Jewish communities were legal corporations, chartered by the federal German states. The individual became a member of a community by virtue of his birth, and was taxed for its support. In 1874, Cologne Jews opposed a resolution in the Diet to allow individuals to resign from their

communities, arguing their duty to supervise the affairs of the community as a whole (27, p. 292). Not until 1920 could a Jew withdraw from a Prussian community without conversion (32, pp. 197-198).

The affairs of Prussian Jewish communities in the 19th century were administered by elected representatives who in turn elected an executive council. The community supervised virtually every aspect of life: it provided religious service and education, schools, libraries, museums, newspapers; it maintained charitable organizations, hospitals, cemeteries; it organized the play activity of the youth. In brief, the non-Ghetto community of the 19th century was as vitally interested in the daily life of its members as was the Ghetto community (32, pp. 193-195).

In religion as well the patterns characteristic of pre-enlightenment carried through the 19th century. Traditional Judaism retained its hold on German Jewry. Although divided into Conservatives, Orthodox and Reform, the majority of Jews were Conservatives. Fidelity to ritual practice, the dietary laws, the fairly strict observance of the Sabbath — in short, those practices which preserved Jewish separatism — were the rule (30, p. 247; 27, Ch. 6). Proscriptions on intermarriage and restrictions on proselytes further mark this separatism, as did the chosen people complex and the messianic ideal which provided ideological supports for this pattern.

The peculiar strength of the Jewish family as a force for internal solidarity and the separation of Jew from non-Jew in good part derived from the fact that religious practices were closely bound into the daily routine of family living. The closeness of this connection was modified somewhat in the 19th century; yet it was by no means negligible, and in fact the Jew-

*"Political emancipation . . . implied forfeiture of Jewish autonomy. It was on this score that modern statesmen were most insistent, whereas the Jewish masses often considered the price too high" (7, Vol. II, p. 227).

ish family of today retains in good measure religious practices serving to unify the family. Thus, for example, the circumcision and *Bar Mitzvah* ceremonies, while religious, have equal importance as family celebrations. As such, they are focal points of family solidarity. Similarly, the dietary regulations, observations of holidays such as Passover and Chanukah, and particularly the traditional Sabbath eve festivities, are intimately tied to family life. These function not only to maintain family identification and unity, but also to emphasize the distinction between the Jew and outsider, and thus to preserve separatism.

THE ARMENIAN CHRISTIAN

There are interesting parallels between the total histories of the Jew and the Armenian: initial location strategic for commercial and military roads; successive waves of invasion, subjugation and consequent "guest" status; the establishment of "Diaspora" communities; and frequent persecution. The latter reached an apparent peak in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries in Turkey, and it is to that time and place our attention will be directed.

Economic Relationships. The geography of Armenia, astride routes connecting Europe and the Orient, facilitated commerce. Proto-Armenians traded with Tyre in the 7th century B.C. Armenians in the 6th century A.D. were middlemen in the silk trade between Rome and China. Early Diaspora communities — Lemberg (Poland), Constantinople, New Julfa (Persia) — were primarily trade centers. Constantinople in the 18th century had 72 Armenian trade guilds (4, pp. 224-238). The English East India Company followed in the footsteps of an Armenian trading concern (36, p. 219).

Throughout the middle ages, the

Armenians in Turkey were primarily a pastoral and agricultural people. During this period, however, they increasingly turned to commerce (13, p. 112; 10, pp. 63-64), in time virtually monopolizing the internal commerce of Turkey together with the Greek and the Jew (11, pp. 179-180). Armenians became the bankers and moneylenders of Turkey. Until political reforms in the mid-19th century, they acted as intermediaries between the central Turkish administration and various local governments. In Turkey, tax collection rights were farmed out to provincial governors required to pay in advance sums they were expected to collect. The Armenian *sarrafs*, or banker, provided loans for this purpose, and were then used as tax-collectors. *Sarrafs* acted as agents for the Turkish gentry, managing estates and collecting debts (51, pp. 310-316). After reforms limiting banking activities, the Armenian *sarrafs* turned to industry: in the late 19th century, clothing manufacturing, mining, shipping and milling were largely controlled by Armenians. Even further, the Armenians enjoyed a monopoly on the right to coin money (51, p. 315).

This domination of commerce in the Ottoman Empire was facilitated by the Turk's negative evaluation of such enterprise. High status positions in Turkey were in the military, in government service, or as landowners. Armenians were excluded from the military, their service in government was largely *ex officio*, and the Armenians, increasingly an urban population in the 19th century, who worked the land were poor peasants. As for the peculiarly Armenian occupations:

Trade sought the Armenians, more than they sought trade. . . . To stoop to arts and crafts, trades and finances was degrading to a Turk. . . . (28, p. 185).

The Turk of the Ottoman Empire

scorned business and despised those native elements who chose to engage in business. To the typical Turk, there was a social stigma attached to the word 'tradesman' which is still so marked in the countries of western Europe (33, p. 328).

The despicability of the Armenian's economic position is further marked by the impediments (high export tariffs, etc.) imposed on the merchant (38, Ch. XIV), and by the problems experienced in inducing Turks to enter commerce after massacre and emigration had reduced the Armenian population of Turkey (1, pp. 195-196; 29, pp. 169-180).

Anti-Armenianism. Whatever the validity of claims that the "Armenian atrocities" of 1890-1915 were grossly exaggerated, that large-scale persecution did occur is undoubtedly true. The Armenian in the late 19th and early 20th centuries met essentially the same fate as the Jew in Nazi Germany.

There is evidence that these massacres had an ideological base similar to anti-Semitism. Armenians are, according to the literature dealing with the Armenian character,* greedy, quarrelsome, self-seeking, unstable, lovers of intrigue, inordinately vain, cosmopolitan. They are divided by religious differences, mutual jealousies. They are unreliable, tricky, given to lying and cheating. They are cowards. They have never produced anything original. In spite of persecution, they have a remarkable way of becoming rich. "They share the unpopularity of the Jew and for much the same reason. The people of the near East conceive the Armenian as a sharp man of business, a money-lender at usury, too clever for the simple peasant he despoils" (18, pp. 391-392).

Political Relationships. Persecution

*A review of this literature is contained in (16, pp. 13-29). See also (13, pp. 113-114; 18, pp. 391-392).

and massacre testify to the dependent power position of the Armenian in Turkey. Religious rights were rigidly limited, as were legal rights: they could not bear arms, their testimony in courts was not given full value, and so on (48, pp. 20 ff; 52, p. 9). Into the 19th century, their dress was regulated by law. They could not serve in the military.

Much of the internal political history of Turkey in this period concerns the efforts of a Sultanate to gain ascendancy over a feudal nobility which, to some extent, retained its independence into the 20th century. Through the last part of the 18th century, and throughout the 19th, the sultans devoted their energies to "... the formation of a homogeneous nation" (50, p. 426). The uprising of the Young Turks, in 1908, had as one of its most important aims reform sufficient to establish a strong, centralized political regime (50, pp. 426-428; 2, Ch. 7).

General Social Relationships. Boettiger (14) notes what he calls the conservatism and self-sufficiency of the Armenian people. Others testify to the tenacity in holding to name, religion and traditions, in the Diaspora communities as well as in Turkey (4, p. 310; 18, pp. 387-388; 22, pp. 137-138; 51, p. 293; 52, pp. 3-5). This "separatist complex" can be seen in the religion, community structure and family relationships characteristic of the Armenian.

A notable feature of the Gregorian Church is the minimum of evolved dogma. Among the essentials, however, were those which served to maintain the Armenians as a distinctive people. Ormanian, a former Patriarch of Constantinople, makes clear that the Armenian Church is a *national* church, and that religion served to maintain the separatism of Armenian communities (36, pp. 222-226; 31, pp. 30-34). Self-imposed restrictions

on proselytizing enhanced this separatism (4, p. 251).

A discussion of community structure simply continues the discussion of the Armenian Church. Until mid-19th century, the civil government of the Armenian community was in the hands of the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople held complete civil authority over the "nation" within Turkey. All matters of family life, marriage, public instruction, charities, worship, and religious functionaries fell within his jurisdiction. To mid-19th century he possessed penal authority, maintaining a jail and a small police force. Relations between the Armenian people and the Turkish government were carried on through him: he handled such things as passport applications, marriage and burial licenses, and the tax tribute of the community (3, pp. 10-11, 78; 36, p. 76). Thus there existed within the Turkish community the subordinate Armenian community. Living in segregated quarters, the Armenian communities preserved themselves in part by submitting to the autocratic rule of the Church.

In the 19th century, under the impact of the "Enlightenment," the mass of the Armenian population demanded an increased share in community control. This demand was met by providing for the election of the Patriarch and by forming a council of fourteen ecclesiastics and twenty laymen (36, pp. 92-93). Later, in 1853, control over civil affairs was given to a council of twenty laymen who then dealt with the Turkish government as sole representatives of the Armenian "nation" (51, pp. 299-303).

The typical Armenian family of the period was patriarchal in form, the patriarch being the unquestioned authority in the household (14, p. 95; 49, p. 45; 11, pp. 85-86). Further, the typical family was extended:

father, sons and grandsons together with wives and children constituted the household. The role such familism played in supporting "separatism" is indicated by Boettiger: "This familism throws additional light on some of the conclusions I have insisted upon, for nothing so fosters conservatism as a substantial family solidarity: what could be more instrumental in passing on the national sentiment . . . Ross says: 'Worshippers of the spirit of the hearth, they are more aloof from their fellows, slower to merge with them or be swept from their moorings by them. . .'" (14, p. 95). As is usual in such family systems, early marriage was frequent and marriage controlled by the family. Such practice, of course, also serves to maintain familial control over individual behavior.

The separatism inherent in church, community and family was supported by a fairly coherent ideology, the most potent component of which was nationalism. The aspiration for political liberty and an independent homeland are focal points in the writings of Armenians.* Further, there is evidence of something approaching a chosen people concept in the ideology of the Armenian Church, and of the existence of a dual ethic.**

THE PARSIS

The Parsis are the largest remnant of a people tracing its heritage to the ancient empire of Persia who found their way to India in approximately 716 A.D. (25, Vol. I, p. 30). They are the only remaining practitioners of Zoroastrianism, which once contended for preeminence as a world

*See, for example, (11, p. 86). A glance through the works of both native Armenians and others dealing with Armenian history will serve to establish this point.

**See (11, pp. 97-99). The tone of these passages recurs through the literature.

religion,* and which has had a discernable influence on Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism (24, Ch. 13; 53, Ch. VI). Their movement to India came after the conquest of their Persian homeland by Mohammedans in the 7th century.

With that conquest came a period of intense religious persecution and enforced conversion (25, Vol. I, pp. 22-24). A relatively small group remained Zoroastrians. To escape their conquerors, they first moved to the mountain areas of western Persia. Followed there, they moved to the island of Ormus, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Still later, they moved to Diu, an island in the Gulf of Cambay; and, again, they eventually found their way to the province of Gujarat in India (25, Vol. I, pp. 22-30). By deliberately underestimating the differences between their own religion and that of the Hindu inhabitants, and by stressing the similarities, they obtained permission to take refuge in Sanjan, on the coast of west-central India (25, Vol. I, pp. 30-31; 15, p. 495). Today, the Parsis number roughly 125,000, some 115,000 of whom are in India. Of these, approximately 50,000 are in Bombay, and the remainder are scattered in the cities around Bombay (19, p. 47).

We shall focus on the Parsis from the late 17th to the end of the 19th centuries. This choice is dictated by two considerations: historical sources are most adequate for this period; and this period approximates most closely the time span investigated in the cases of the Jew and the Armenian. In this instance, we shall alter the sequence of treatment of topics, discussing the question of the existence of an "anti-Parsiism" after having reviewed the

structural relations of the Parsis to their Hindu hosts.

Economic Relationships. On settlement in India, the Parsis were primarily agriculturalists (34, p. 642). Subsequently, however, they moved to the cities of western India and began entering trade. This pattern was accentuated in the years under discussion (25, Vol. II, p. 9), when European trading companies entered India in force. Jackson writes: "They (the Parsis) are often called the Jews of India, and they themselves allude to this comparison" (24, p. 183). The allusion is, of course, based on their trading proclivity. Brokers, bankers, shipbuilders, opium traders, merchants of all kinds, the Parsis ranged far and wide in pursuit of trade (24, p. 183). They began the cotton piece goods trade with Manchester (47, p. 203). They were the primary shipbuilders at Surat before the commercial decline of that city (47, p. 201). They were among the first to open trade offices in Burma and China (34, p. 642; 25, Vol. II, p. 57). They supplied provisions and other necessities for the English forces in India, holding remunerative contracts with the British government (25, Vol. II, p. 57). In short, the commercial and trading activity of western India from the 17th through the 19th centuries was almost completely dominated by the Parsis (25, Vol. II, pp. 47-146; 34, p. 642; 41, p. 867).

The Parsis, then, were found preponderately in commerce and industry. And it is these economic activities which, to important degree, the orthodox caste Hindu considered ritually degrading. In ancient times, trade and especially money-lending were despised occupations (54, p. 92). Status, in Hinduism, is accorded the various castes in terms of distance from the Brahman, the topmost stratum. Kchatriyas, the warriors, rank

*With the exception of an extremely impoverished group of about 10,000 still in Persia (24, p. 10).

second. Then come the Vaisha; and, finally, the Shudra.

The occupations of a Vaisha — tillage and trade and, particularly, the lending of money at interest — were considered by both upper castes as unbecoming their rank and station. . . . (T)he way of life of the Shudra signified 'menial service.' The classical sources subsume under 'menial service' all industry. The conception of positive work as 'menial' service for other castes is taken in a far more literal and explicit sense than is usual elsewhere in the world (54, pp. 71-72).

The despicability of trade is intimately tied to the requirements of ritual caste duties. Trade requires a certain degree of mobility; a caste cannot control the correctness of its migrant workers. Further, commercial activity may bring one into contact with the ritually impure. In short, the very structure of caste is antithetical to trade (54, pp. 106-107).

Political Relationships. That the Parsis existed in a dependent power relationship in the wider Indian society cannot be denied. The fact that the Parsis numbered 115,000 in a total Hindu population of some 300,000,000 serves to emphasize the point. The picture pieced together from available materials indicates that the Parsis were encased in Ghetto-like communities, especially in the period preceding the advent of Europeans, and that their relationship to the wider social structure was symbiotic.

The dependent nature of the Parsis' position in India becomes even more marked with the coming of the British, and the migration of the group to Bombay. Historians note that the period of greatest Parsi prosperity coincides with these events (34, p. 642; 25, Vol. I, p. xvii). This relationship is perhaps emphasized more strongly by the Parsis' insistence that the group exerted every effort to advance British ends in India (25, Vol. I, p. 51,

Vol. II, pp. 280-295).*

With regard to the political organization of the wider Hindu society, whatever the specific components of caste structure emphasized by various authorities,** it is clear that a high degree of tolerated divisiveness characterizes this form of social organization. Traditional castes formed a federation of communities, but were under no central authority (26, p. 68). Each caste (more particularly, each sub-caste, since any caste may include hundreds of sub-divisions) oversaw its own membership and activities. This control was exerted in the interest of the caste's Dharma, or ritual duty. The caste order is founded on the principle of organization in sub-groups, rather than on centralized authority in a national state: the national state and a caste order are, of necessity, antagonistic. The sub-groups are expected to carry out their particular Dharma, and are expected to give full rein to the right of other sub-groups to act in terms of their prescribed duties.

General Social Relationships. Menant finds it "incredible" that the Parsis could maintain themselves through the centuries in spite of being "lost among foreign sects" (34, p. 646). Waterhouse notes the "remarkable" unity and "exclusive spirit" of this people (53, pp. 112-114). Moulton comments on the high degree of visibility of the Parsis, and adds, "The note of intense clannishness . . . is certainly the first one to strike in any description of the Parsees in India or elsewhere" (35, p. 120). The mechanisms by which this apparent "separatism" is attained can be found in the religion, community structure and family relationships of the Parsis.

*The Parsis could serve as the prototype of marginal man. See (39; 46).

**The principle sources of this discussion of caste are (26; 17; 54).

The thought system, as well as the social relationships, of the Parsi are bound closely to his religion. Modern Zoroastrianism is monotheistic, carefully assigning the dualism attributed to it to the realm of speculative philosophy (15; 35; 53). It has an activist bent: the good deed is placed on a par with the good thought and the good word. It is essentially optimistic: it rewards the good life in the hereafter; it postulates the progress of the world to perfection; it forecasts the day of resurrection (25, Vol. II, pp. 187-193; 15, p. 492). Important in this context is the fact that it contains a strong chosen people theme (15, pp. 510-511).

The social function of an optimistic, activist religion doctrine, particularly one which contains a chosen people aspect, is worth noting: it gives meaning to suffering; and it serves to emphasize the exclusiveness of a group and to maintain that exclusiveness. This separatism of the Parsis' religious system is accentuated by restrictions placed on proselytizing. Historically, Zoroastrianism was a world religion, and so expansionist. In India, however, it became quite the opposite (15, pp. 474-476; 24, p. 185; 25, Vol. I, p. 169; 35, pp. 127-128; 41, p. 867).

As in our earlier cases, the religious and community structures of the Parsis are inseparable. Given pariah status, and given a desire to maintain an independent community, some system of self-segregation is indicated. In part, the Parsis accomplished this through the political institution of the *Panchayat*, or community council, structured along the lines of the Hindu system of caste government. Through most of the period under discussion, the Parsi community was controlled by a council of six high priests and twelve middle-order priests (41, p. 867). The council reg-

ulated individuals' lives in the interest of the existence and maintenance of the group in isolation from the Hindu community outside it (34, pp. 643-644; 25, Vol. I, 217-235). The power of the *Panchayat* was absolute: excommunication was the price of disobedience, and the threat of excommunication in a pariah group living in the midst of a rigid caste system was, in fact, an effective deterrent (34, p. 218).

The continued attachment of the Parsis for their ancestral Persian home may also be noted as a significant aspect of the community life of the group. Until late in the 18th century, the Persian community was regarded as maintaining authority deriving from its occupancy of the land of ancient Zoroastrian might. Commissions of inquiry were sent from time to time, returning to India with judgments (*Rivayats*) on questions of religious law and procedure. Some elements of this pattern continue (35, p. 123).

Two elements in the pattern of family relationships among the Parsis are especially noteworthy in the context of this discussion: the first is the practice of early marriage; the second is the extended family system. Early Zoroastrian religious law set a lower age limit of fifteen for marriage; however, Parsi custom in India was adapted to that of the Hindu, and earlier—even, apparently, prenatal—marriages seem to have been the rule in the period of interest (25, Vol. I, p. 171). Such a system, with marriage choice strictly controlled by the family itself, is particularly conducive to maintaining a high degree of community control over individual members. The second element, the extended family system, also serves in the same manner. After the marriage of a child, the newly married couple live with the parents of the male, re-

maining there until the death of the parents (25, Vol. I, p. 189).*

The separatism marked in this discussion of Parsi religion, community and family organization is supported by a fairly coherent ideology. The chosen people theme, a pride in history and heritage, and a concern for the maintenance of the "race," are parts of this ideology. Further, there is evidence of a dual ethic sharply dividing the in-group from the world at large (25, Vol. I, pp. 103-104).

Anti-Parsiism. At this point, the question must be raised: did there develop in India an ideology with reference to the Parsis comparable to the anti-Semitism that emerged in Germany and the anti-Armenianism that occurred in Turkey? The answer to this question seems to be no.

Parsi historians are emphatic in their claim of compatible relations between this pariah people and the native Hindu population among whom they lived in India. These claims receive support from non-Parsi investigators as well (25, Vol. I, pp. xviii-xviii; 15, p. 446; 24, p. 179).

They have been compared . . . to the Jews, but, unlike that people, they have never known persecution . . . they have lived side by side with their Hindu neighbors during all these centuries without any occurrence that has been remembered as sufficient to rankle in the mind (25, Vol. I, pp. xvii-xviii).**

It seems reasonable to expect that an ideological complex negative to the Parsis, if it existed, would be reflected

*Karaka adds that "There are, of course, instances where sons have taken separate houses for themselves and their families, and of brothers who, after the death of their parents, have separated from each other." He insists, however, that such cases are exceptional (25, Vol. I, p. 189).

**Karaka later notes one exception to this statement, the "Variav tragedy," in which a small Parsi community some distance from Sumat was massacred after defeating Hindu soldiers sent to collect tribute (25, Vol. I, p. 49).

in the literature dealing with this people. That no source material so much as hints at the existence of an "anti-Parsiism" can be taken as evidence of its absence.

It is relevant to note that what difficulties the Parsis did encounter in India came largely through their contacts with Mohammedans. Materials do not permit a firm statement that "anti-Parsiism" did in fact exist among the Mohammedans in India; there are, however, some indications of this in the literature (47, p. 380; 25, Vol. II, p. 228). It is also relevant that Hindu social structure could, in fact, support ideologies inimical to outsiders—witness the Hindu-Moslem and Hindu-Christian animosities.

DISCUSSION

We have presented historical data dealing with three middleman trading peoples: the Jew in Germany, the Armenian Christian in Turkey, and the Parsi in India. In the first two cases, ideologies—strikingly similar in content—negative to these groups developed, and rampant persecution as well. In the last, the Parsi, these did not occur.

All three of these peoples were, in fact, middlemen traders. They were concentrated in occupations which were, at the same time, functionally important, financially remunerative, conspicuous, and socially despicable. All, further, were characterized by what we have called a separatist complex. Their religions, community, and family structures served to cut them apart from the host societies, to mark them as distinct, to make their relationships with the host societies symbiotic. All, still further, were in a dependent power relationship vis-à-vis societies in which they lived.

Of the variables investigated here, only one distinguishes the three cases. The Jew and the Armenian were en-

cased in societies in which a dominant political *motif* was that of an emerging nationalism. Whatever else nationalism may imply, it includes an emphasis on and a positive evaluation of unity within the political society. The basic principle of political organization in a society oriented toward the concentration of power at a national level is the minimization of internal differences within the prime political unit which is the society itself.

The Parsis, on the other hand, found themselves in a society in which the fundamental principle of political organization was not unity, but diversity: caste is a system developed on the basis of maximal independence of sub-groups. The locality group, not the national state, is the primary political unit. More, within the locality group, relationships between castes are ordered by strict, hereditary rights and obligations which are part of the Dharma, the ritual duty, of the particular castes. And the Parsis were not subjected to systematic persecution as were the Jew and the Armenian; nor were they the victims of an ideology comparable to that with which these other peoples were faced.

Why these developments did not take place in India, in the time period under scrutiny, seems apparent. It is not the separatist people in the Hindu social order — no matter what its economic position — that is defined as a problem. It is rather the expansionist group that poses an issue for this kind of society: the previously remarked Hindu-Moslem and Hindu-Christian difficulties are pertinent here. In short, the very points which would make groups intolerable from the standpoint of an expanding political order serve to protect groups in the context of a caste system. Assuming that the brief evidence of an "anti-Parsiism" among Moslems in India is

accurate, this fact adds substance to the point being made.

On the basis of the materials presented and the foregoing discussion, then, it would seem that pariah or middlemen trader status alone will not account for the emergence of ideologies comparable to anti-Semitism. Rather, it seems to be the case that a complex of structural and associated value variables — characteristic of the minority peoples themselves and of the host societies — underly the appearance of such systematic prejudice and discrimination. This complex would seem to include, beyond the economic variables involved, aspects of the religious, community, and family structures of the minority group, and aspects of the political structure of the wider society.

We have proceeded in this paper by treating independently the various parts of the complex of structural variables. For analytic purposes, and specifically for the primary purpose of this paper, this procedure has its utility. It is the case, of course, that empirically the various segments of this complex are interrelated: we have, on occasion, through the paper suggested that the family, religious and community structures of the peoples dealt with represent in a sense coterminous sets of behaviors. Further, it is assuredly true that the nature of the political organization of the wider society is reflected in the economic position and the community, religious and family structure of the minority group: emphasis on in-group is in some part, for example, a response to the press of the external, larger society.

While it is not possible to detail these interrelationships, it should not be inferred from the absence of such discussion that it is a multi-factor theory, in the sense of factors conceived to operate in isolation from

one another, that is being proposed. Rather, the underlying view is that such systematic prejudice as anti-Semitism results from the conjoining of specific kinds of structural conditions. We would expect, for example, that a marginal trading people without a strong separatist component would not be subject to prejudice of this order even when set in an expanding nationalist state.*

*The reasonableness of this expectation is indicated by the cases of the French Huguenot who, fleeing France, settled in England, Ireland and Brandenburg. In none of these instances, apparently, did a virulent anti-Huguenotism develop.

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NEGROES IN THE CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE LABOR FORCE*

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During the past century a whole series of racial, ethnic, and national minorities have been important elements in the California agriculture labor force. Indeed, without them it would have been impossible for the industry to expand and specialize to the point where it now produces more

than two billion dollars worth of the nation's foods and fibers. However, only for relatively brief periods of time have Negroes in significant numbers participated in this "peculiar" work group, although employment patterns in the state might have been expected to produce a wider involvement (1). The purpose of this paper is to account for the paucity of Negroes in California agriculture and to

*Paper read at the 1958 meeting of the American Sociological Society, Seattle, Washington, August, 1958.

delineate those conditions under which they might become significant elements in it.

For the native-born American the decision to enter agricultural work in California as a laborer or even semi-skilled worker is rarely a positive one. Even for the marginal bread-winner or the unattached, unskilled worker such employment is a last resort, perhaps the only alternative to going on poor relief. Seasonality of work, relatively low wages, necessity of moving frequently and for long distances, social disorganization and exploitation inherent in the migratory pattern, and the inaccessibility of minimal public facilities for education, health, recreation, and welfare—all prompt workers to seek such jobs only *in extremis*, and to leave them the moment alternative sources of income are available. It is within that general socio-economic context that I will examine the participation of Negroes in the California agriculture labor force (14, pp. 194-197).

In the above conditions, which have long characterized the farm labor system and which persist in the face of limited meliorative efforts, the answer to labor shortages has been the importation of a series of minority peoples who found that the best, perhaps the only, chance for securing a livelihood was in those jobs "which no self-respecting white man would do." Moreover, even when native-born white workers were available in abundance, growers frequently preferred "race labor" which was thought to be easily managed, less demanding, and willing to accept lower wages and other handicaps without much protest. From the farm operators' point of view the choice was a wise one, for the minority—Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, and others—lacking both economic and political power, were hardly in a position to buck

the evils of the system. And, initially at any rate, they complained little since migratory farm work, with all its hardships, provided a level of living usually higher than that to which they had been accustomed in their native lands (13, pp. 18, 33).

While whites were important elements in this labor force from time to time, they had a much better opportunity than minority peoples for breaking out of the dead-end, migratory road, either by finding more rewarding jobs in urban communities, returning to areas from which they had migrated, becoming skilled, permanent farm workers, or, as occurred in some instances, achieving themselves the status of independent operators. The minority group workers, though much sought after during periods of labor shortage (and few growers were ever willing to concede that the supply was "adequate") were never able to move up the agricultural ladder, fulfilling the American ideal of the self-made, self-sufficient farmer for whom agriculture was not only a means of livelihood, but a way of life. Indeed, relatively few native whites were able to do so in California, where in order to make money at farming one needed money to begin with.

Responsible for this were a series of factors which can be little more than mentioned here. The high acre value of land, the requirement of large amounts of capital, the extensive cost of farm equipment, including irrigation facilities, and difficulties in financing year-to-year operations all made it hard for small or subsistence operators or ambitious non-owners to acquire holdings sufficient for independent agricultural endeavors. The minority peoples confronted additional handicaps; they lacked technical and managerial skills (and had little opportunity to obtain them); they had little economic and political power,

could tap few sources of funds or loans, and were rarely able to engage in concerted self-help activities and cooperative ventures. Moreover, they were excluded by restrictive state legislation, such as alien land laws, and by local ordinances making it difficult if not impossible to acquire property, engage in business, and otherwise participate in those economic undertakings generally open to those of appropriate national origin and skin color (13, p. 30).

Among these minorities only the Japanese were partially successful in establishing themselves as independent farmers.* The tenuousness of their hold and the depth of white resentment of their accomplishment of even a small part of the goal of high status secured by hard work were dramatically, even violently, demonstrated when Japanese — citizens and non-citizens alike — were thrown into "relocation centers" following America's entry into World War II. By now it is quite apparent that much besides concern for national security motivated the indecent haste with which California communities dispossessed Japanese of their homes, confiscated their farms, force-auctioned their possessions, and in other ways broke their economic backs (2, pp. 198-204). It is quite possible to conclude that similar measures would have been taken against other minorities if they had been as successful as the Japanese, although different pretexts would have been necessary. Not failure, but success on

American terms was the latter's undoing.

Other minorities, including Negroes, failed to get even a toe-hold as independent farmers, usually abandoning such work at the first opportunity and resuming it only under economic duress. Only the continuous flow of other immigrants, particularly Mexicans, and more recently contract laborers and illegal entrants from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and other nearby, economically depressed countries enabled California growers to obtain what they regarded as the necessary minimum of workers. While it might have been anticipated that Negroes in California would not become independent agriculturalists on any significant scale, their failure to enter the migratory labor force — or to remain there very long if they did — is more difficult to explain. The push factors operating in the South and Southwest to force Negroes from those regions, and the pull factors even of California agriculture were substantial. And yet for a long time following the Reconstruction, as Myrdal has lamented, few Negroes migrated to the state (9, p. 186). Even by 1900 California had only 11,000 Negro residents, representing well under one per cent of the total population. Forty years later this number had grown to only 125,000, still less than two per cent of the state's inhabitants. One may speculate, as have Myrdal and others, on the reasons for this exceedingly slow growth (16). However, he is not likely to find any really satisfactory explanation. Equally difficult to account for is the fact that few Negro migrants sought employment in agriculture, although in some localities, particularly those where cotton cultivation was introduced, they did seek such jobs.

Obviously, there is no singular explanation for this development, and one is by no means confident that he

*While both Armenians and Italians in the early 19th century established substantial holdings in the cultivation of grapes in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys, they were never significant elements in the migratory labor force. They tended to settle in permanent family groups, held together by religious, social, and cultural ties. Moreover, they possessed those agricultural skills that were immediately useful in an expanding phase of California agriculture.

can suggest a rank order for the several contributing factors. However, a number of tentative observations, if further supported by empirical data, provide a plausible account for the fact that Negroes have been a minor element in California agriculture labor. First is the disproportionately small number of Negroes in the population, who even now are only between four and five per cent of the total. However, this is not a particularly revealing development; other minorities have represented minute fractions of the total and yet have been important components of the migratory labor group: for example, Filipinos. Negroes moving to California tended when leaving the South to enter larger cities. Once established in these localities they remained, neither going back "where they come from" as some wished, nor moving to other areas, urban or rural, within the state. Although under considerable pressure to migrate in search of work, including farm jobs, they displayed remarkable resistance (6, p. 4).

Underlying this reluctance to move and accept migratory farm employment was the growing political power of the race in cities—Los Angeles, Oakland, Bakersfield, San Francisco, Richmond, and Sacramento—where they concentrated. This resource was used in two ways: first, to secure minimal welfare legislation locally which provided some barriers against extreme economic distress; and second, to open urban employment opportunities in both private and public establishments. Both Bakersfield and San Francisco, for example, have enacted fair employment practice laws, largely as a result of concerted campaigns by Negroes. This growing power was used also at the state level. During the last session of the legislature a fair employment practice measure was passed by the lower house; it was

killed in the upper chamber by "Cow County" senators. Thus Negroes have used their political power to secure economic benefits, one consequence being lessening of pressures to join the agricultural labor force (8).

Seemingly, growers should have been disposed to hire Negroes, who, being marginal elements in the labor force, would have accepted the lower wages and adverse working conditions characteristic of migratory farm work. However, the operators generally, although preferring "foreign" and "race" labor for the more menial tasks, were rarely enthusiastic about American-born Negroes. In a position to remain selective except under the most dire pressures, farm operators only infrequently sought and encouraged Negroes. Depending on the past experiences and prejudices, employers indicated preferences for one group or another. Mexicans were thought to be better for "stoop" labor; Filipinos, it was held, were more suitable for vegetables; while Negroes might be favored for cotton cultivation. There was no necessary consistency in these estimates, and they were modified when local shortages dictated changes in previous hiring policies. During the past two decades labor contractors have had a greater influence in the recruitment and selection of agricultural workers, and contractor preferences have become an added factor. Through them the growers have reduced and spread their risks, at the same time surrendering certain prerogatives in judging suitability of racial and ethnic groups.

Another factor militating against entry of Negroes into California agriculture labor was the hostility of many of the communities in which colored workers would have had to establish at least temporary residence. Local merchants, real estate dealers, and public officials in various ways dis-

couraged Negroes from moving into the locality. Exclusion from stores and restaurants, prohibitions of residence in specified areas, and "tough" law enforcement were among the means for discouraging colored migrants. Curiously, in some cases it was the growers who momentarily were cast in the role of champions of racial tolerance when they defended Negroes whose labor was needed immediately in the harvest of perishable crops. There was a peculiar relationship between grower advocacy of racial understanding, price of farm products, size of harvest, length of season, and availability of alternate labor supplies (5, p. 67; 10; 14).

Involved also was the hostility of the few older permanent Negro residents toward the new migratory farm workers. The former felt that their quiet, precarious status was further jeopardized when lower-strata Negroes became even temporarily members of the community and lowered its "tone." However, community opposition directed against other minorities participating in that labor force was not an especially strong deterrent. Negroes were simply less inclined to "take" such treatment; thus their already strong inclinations to remain in the cities was reinforced. Prolonged unemployment boded few of them from their initial habitats in California; even the unsophisticated colored laborer learned quickly that some things were preferable to becoming a migrant farm hand. The chance that urban residence might be maintained was improved by the fact that Negro women could find supplementary bread-winner opportunities as domestic and service workers—poor choices, true enough—but not always available to females among other minority peoples (15).

The greatest growth of the Negro population in California occurred after

1940, and was closely related to the rapid industrial expansion of the state; older industries grew rapidly and new mass-production establishments were built in response to war-time demands. Military facilities in the form of camps, hospitals, naval bases, and air stations were set up over the state in quick order. Shortages of labor developed not only in agricultural but industrial enterprises as well. Most Negroes moving to the state after 1940 found little difficulty in obtaining some kind of job in one of the major urban centers. Such positions were usually of the laboring, service, or semi-skilled type, and chances for promotion were none too good; nevertheless, such jobs were usually an improvement over any previous employment, and for most Negroes they provided a level of living higher than any attained before. Even when Negroes were barred from manufacturing industries, they found wages and working conditions in service occupations much improved. Hence it was not necessary for them to seek employment in the agricultural labor force during the war period (4). At the close of World War II it appeared that Negroes would enter farm employment for the first time in California on a significant scale (3). It was assumed that because of their precarious foothold in industry, the decline of service and domestic worker demand, the exhaustion of savings, unemployment compensations, veterans allowances, and other entitlements, Negroes would return to their regions of origin or enter the seasonal agricultural labor force. Few of them in fact chose either alternative, although in 1946 and 1947 unemployed Negroes in such cities as Richmond, Oakland, and Los Angeles ventured out as farm workers for relatively brief periods (11). This latter movement would have been much greater except for the Korean war which revitalized

important segments of California industry, led to further expansion of military facilities, and otherwise provided an economic stimulus unattainable in peace time. From this Negroes benefited immediately in the labor market, and the trend toward migratory labor was reversed.

The Negro's economic and employment position in California was further guarded by the fact that many of the jobs they held were in government establishments and subject to civil service rules. While the bulk of these positions were relatively poor-paying and offered only limited promotion chances, they were not as subject as jobs in private industry to sharp fluctuations and arbitrary termination. Moreover, government agencies were responsive to the political influence of Negroes which was used to expand racial job chances in both state and federal establishments. Such a resource would be even more intensively employed in the event large-scale unemployment should again threaten to force Negroes into agricultural work. Negroes in the state now number more than 600,000, and their unemployment about twice as high as the labor force. They are a disproportionately high percentage of those on relief rolls. But at the same time the agricultural employers of the state find it necessary to import thousands of contract workers each year. Even if this latter supply were cut off and agricultural wages and working conditions more closely approximated those of urban industries, Negroes would remain reluctant to enter the peculiar labor group (12).

This brings us to the changed psychology of the urban Negro worker. The colored migrant from the rural or semi-rural areas of the South and Southwest is not the same after a few years of urban residence and employment. He is more sophisticated,

knowledgeable about the ways of city life, aware of his alternatives, racially conscious, and inclined to create and use resources of his own in pursuit of racial interests. Having escaped the drudgery and humiliation of farm tenancy, he is not likely to seek a somewhat similar system of servitude in his new environment. Moreover, his children will be even less inclined than he to regard farm work as an appropriate way of livelihood and life. Their values are essentially urban, and their images and ambitions are shaped accordingly. City life has come to be regarded as both symbol and means of breaking with the past and moving upward socially (7, pp. 276-283). While California cities present segregation and discrimination in somewhat different forms, they also permit an amount of personal and social freedom not found in their original southern habitat and not now available in rural California.

Like other lower-strata people in the state, Negroes realize that their chances of becoming independent agriculturalists in the "field factory" system are extremely remote, and very few of them even consider it a possibility. There is among some older Negroes a certain nostalgia for easier, rural ways of life, but it amounts to nothing more than the sentimental remembrance of things past; no effort is made to translate it into reality as data on Negro farm enterprises clearly indicate. Not only has the number of independent Negro farm operators declined (from at best an exceedingly low figure), but the size of holdings has shrunk. Those few Negroes who do accumulate sufficient wealth for independent agricultural endeavors will not do so by farming, and they will not invest it in farming. Such funds are most likely to go into Negro businesses, residential properties, or "safe" securities.

Without an economic depression of catastrophic proportions, it is difficult to conceive of Negroes entering the California agricultural labor force in any significant numbers. Some highly marginal individuals with few or no ties to Negro families and communities would follow this course, but they would be exceptional, and the racial factor would probably not be crucial, as it is not crucial in the case of marginal, unattached, anomic white workers. If such a depression resulted in a movement of Negroes from the south similar to that of the white "Oakies" and "Arkies" during the 1930's, they, and not the city-dwelling Negroes, would be the more likely candidates for the migratory labor force. However, in such circumstances, the growers, having a wider range of choices than they now do, would not be inclined to hire colored migrants, and the latter might well be forced into the cities where even minimal poor relief would provide a better livelihood.

If we assume that no depression will occur, then it is difficult to imagine that the status of the migratory worker in the state will be raised to the point where Negroes would prefer it to present urban, industrial status. The system is such that even today it remains for the native born person, including the Negro, a poor alternative to indigent relief. Agricultural unionism is weak, in spite of intense efforts of a few dedicated organizers. The transiency of these workers, their image of agricultural employment as unfortunate and temporary, and their lack of social cohesion make the prospect of union exceedingly remote. Political means are not likely to prove effective either because of the disproportionately heavy influence of the growers in the law-making process, a power epitomized in the county-unit system for selection

of members of the state senate.* Further mechanization promises more skilled jobs in California agriculture, but these are not likely to be filled by Negroes who generally lack the background, education, and training for such employment. This says nothing of the racial discrimination they would meet, even if qualified, for such jobs usually entail permanent residence and the development of additional Negro population centers. Thus another possibility must be ruled out.

In the final analysis migratory labor in California attracts only the economically and socially marginal elements in the labor force. As the Negro improves his economic position and political power, he is in an increasingly better position to resist those who would persuade or force him into such employment. And as long as cheap, foreign labor supplies are available to California growers, the Negro is not likely to be presented with the issue. If and when he is, those who pose it may well be surprised at the answer they receive.

*In the past FEPC legislation has been introduced and in some cases passed by the lower house of the California legislature, which is representative primarily of urban interests, only to be voted down in the upper house. In the present session (1959) a strong FEPC bill has been passed by the Assembly, but it is not likely to get through the Senate unless amendments exempting agricultural workers and employers from its provisions are adopted. The strongest backing for the measure comes from Negroes; in view of the fact that relatively few are engaged in agricultural work, there is not likely to be effective opposition to the growers' demands.

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PROBLEMS OF TOMORROW

In this department, we hope to provide short discussions (1500-1800 words) which deal with (a) the prediction of a problem or problems, in a specialized area, which on the basis of present research may be expected to emerge in the near future; (b) the suggestions of research which could be initiated now, and which might be of value to the development of sociological theory, to the understanding of a concrete problem, and to social action. Authors are cordially invited to submit material for this section.

RESEARCH DATA AS AN ELEMENT IN DECISION MAKING

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In a previous article (5) I have suggested that the racial invasion-succession sequence in middle-class neighborhoods may be viewed as an example of the self-fulfilling prophecy (2, pp. 179-195), and that such an orientation has certain implications for the direction of research and the development of social policy. In this paper I want to consider the potential impact of research findings in such dynamic situations.

Merton has called attention to the problems presented by what he has termed the "suicidal prediction," that is, those research predictions which, when made public, can be taken into account by those concerned and thereby result in their *invalidation*. For example, "the government economist's distant forecast of an oversupply of wheat may possibly lead individual producers of wheat so to curtail their planned production as to invalidate the forecast" (2, p. 122). In such an instance, this outcome, while embarrassing to the scientist, may not necessarily be considered socially detrimental.

Consider, however, the potential effect of the release of scientific knowledge in those situations where its dissemination may function to *hasten* the very consequences which are at once predicted by the investigator and

feared by the subjects.* Here the release of research results may *insure* rather than *invalidate* the predictions which are made. In the process however, certain social values may be jeopardized in such a way as to confront the social scientist with serious ethical problems.

A CASE IN POINT

Many studies have indicated that subjects tend to over-estimate the extent of others' racial prejudices and hostile sentiments toward inter-racial housing (3, pp. 20-22). It has often been assumed, too, that when Negroes invade a previously all-white area there is a tendency for white residents to exaggerate their neighbors' propensity to move. However, in the course of a current research project.** in Detroit it was discovered that a rather large percentage of white residents were not aware of the moving intentions of their neighbors. This was revealed in the initial interview with an area probability sample of 234

*A test of the validity of the prediction also becomes difficult for the same reason cited by Merton in the case of the "suicidal prediction": the research data have become elements in the situation and have materially altered it.

**The project director is Albert J. Mayer, Wayne State University. Currently participating associates are Robert L. Fulton, Los Angeles State College, and the writer.

households in Russel Woods, a middle-class neighborhood in Detroit which began to change racially toward the end of 1955. In the first interview the following question was asked:

As you probably know, many people throughout the city have either recently moved or are thinking about it. Do you know if many of the people in your neighborhood are thinking about moving?

Approximately 60 per cent of the respondents said yes, many of their neighbors *were* thinking about moving. The remaining 40 per cent did not believe this to be the case. But later questioning during the same interview showed that about one-third of the sample of residents were, by their own report, either "thinking about moving within the next six months or so" or "definitely moving." (This "collective ignorance" on the part of so many had vanished by the time of the second interview two years later. At that time only one respondent* was unaware of the fact that many people in the neighborhood *were* thinking of moving. Concurrently, the percentage of sample members who said they were either definitely moving or thinking about moving within the next six months or so had increased to about 50 per cent.)

DISCUSSION

Much of the literature used by social action agencies in this field assumes that a condition of panic is likely to exist prior to neighborhood flight and a suggestion frequently offered to the local community worker is to publicize the "facts" so that residents' fears may be allayed. Indeed, one of the benefits of local neighborhood organization has been considered to be that of bringing residents together so that they can correct their

emotionally-colored misconceptions, and evaluate their situation in a more rational manner. In our study there *was* found to be a statistically significant relationship between the respondent's stated intention to move or stay and her judgment as to whether many in the neighborhood were thinking about moving.** But the irrational, or at least mistaken judgments in this case were made largely by those who said they intended to *remain* in the neighborhood. It was this group which often (in almost 50 per cent of the cases) failed to make a "realistic" appraisal of the moving intentions of their neighbors.

However, our present concern is not with the latent function of the establishment of the network of communication that is developed when a neighborhood organization is formed. We want, rather, to consider the social responsibility of the research worker involved in such a situation. We have been approached quite frequently by local neighborhood leaders for information about our findings, and, of course, interest was especially high concerning moving intentions: how many households were planning to move away? Since only a small minority of white residents indicate that they would be willing to remain in a predominantly Negro neighborhood, the intentions of other white families may be an important factor in making moving-decisions.

It may legitimately be argued that the speed with which false beliefs are corrected will not materially alter the process of racial segregation in northern cities, even assuming for the moment that the present findings in Russel Woods might be repeated else-

*Of the original sample of 234, 141 had remained in the area, and 119 of these were re-interviewed.

**Note that this was true only at this first interview, at the onset of Negro in-movement, when the entire neighborhood situation contained many elements of ambiguity.

where. This is probably correct. As long as non-white households seeking housing in a given area are numerous, while alternative areas for their residence are few, the open-occupancy area will tend to become the predominantly Negro area. The speed at which this occurs, however, is a far from negligible factor in terms of certain social values, and one of the factors which may well affect this speed is the individual householder's judgment of the intentions of his neighbors.

The slowly-changing neighborhood means that a substantial number of white families remain for varying lengths of time in an inter-racial area. In Russel Woods these remaining families had had many experiences (in the course of the two years since Negro families entered the area) with their new neighbors which appeared to have weakened many stereotyped beliefs and modified anti-integration sentiments. Almost half had, for the first time in their lives, participated in or affiliated themselves with an inter-racial organization (the neighborhood association) devoted to some common concerns.* There is already some evidence that these organizational experiences have developed grass-roots sentiment favorable to the enactment of laws and to end discrimination in housing. The study of the impact of these years of inter-racial living upon in-coming Negro families has not been completed, but here too we expect to find that certain stereotyped conceptions have been corrected. Children of both groups have been brought into association in the classroom, on the playground, and in the neighborhood. To those whose experience in the field of social action has engendered appreciation for even

small and partial advances toward democratic values, these by-products of slow, as opposed to more rapid, racial transition are not to be dismissed lightly.

These effects might not have occurred had there been disclosure of research data in the early stages of areal change in Russel Woods. This experience may serve to remind those in the behavioral sciences of some problems which it is often more comfortable to forget. Perhaps one of the reasons it has been possible to do so has been the existence of widespread skepticism concerning the validity of predictions. Especially in the field of political behavior (another instance of a situation where knowledge of research results might affect the behavior under study) the activists, from President Truman on down to the precinct workers, have tended to a "polls-are-bunk" position. This attitude has tended to protect the researcher from fully confronting the possibilities inherent in his work. But as more research is pointed to prediction of behavior in situations where the results can be verified, and as we become more successful in so doing, we can expect our work to have more far-reaching social consequences.

When we ask ourselves the question — what kinds of situations are likely to be most sensitive to the impact of research data? — a number of areas for research suggest themselves. Under what conditions are subjects most likely to alter their behavior as a result of "feed-back?" The following factors, by no means an exhaustive listing, might prove to operate as limiting conditions:

1. The extent to which the subjects accept the findings as authoritative.

Query: In what subject-areas are social scientists viewed as impartial experts, and by what audiences? Who is operating as a competitor in the purveying of information?

*For a fuller discussion of the effect of these experiences see the writer's doctoral dissertation (4).

Query: Who is most involved in the development of the image which is formed by a particular audience? Is the image of "the researcher" derived from contacts with interviewers? Or is it based on the sponsoring agency? Or the agency which releases the information? Or some composite of all?

Query: What are the effects of the method that is chosen for dissemination? Are "leaks" considered more reliable than formal releases? (Are the latter suspect as propaganda?)

2. The extent to which subjects are able to alter their behavior in the light of research findings.

Query: Are there objective limitations which make it difficult for subjects to take advantage of knowledge that has been supplied them? Will the effect on the total situation therefore be minimal, while the impact upon individuals within it, in terms of provoking of discontent or anxiety, be considerable?

Query: To what extent are the subjects able to accept data which is contrary to established conceptions? Data which challenge commitments they have already made to self or others?

3. The extent to which subjects will wish to alter their behavior as a result of the knowledge which has been supplied them.

Query: How substantial, how swift, how tangible must rewards be in order for subjects to wish to alter plans which they have already formulated, decisions already made?

*In the first two years of study in Russel Woods, for example, some who early developed an *intention-to-move* were unable to implement it, while many higher-income families whose initial reaction had been to *remain* thereafter changed their minds, and moved away in greater numbers. It is also possible that if a very large number of white families (upon discovering the intentions of their neighbors) had put their houses up for sale the market might have been so flooded that prices would have dropped enough to slow down decisions to sell, thus re-establishing the original condition.

4. The amount of time required for the research data to make an impact upon decision-making.

Query: Do certain areas of behavior respond to the impact of research findings only "in the long run," while others have only "short-run" consequences?

5. The influence of the social organization of the audience involved.

Query: To what extent are the degree of interaction, the presence of organized relations in the group, its formal and informal power structure factors in its utilization of research data?

Is this problem—the impact of research data upon decision-making in highly dynamic situations—likely to emerge as important in the years ahead? Much will depend upon the kinds of relationships that are developed between research personnel and community organizations. There have been many instances in the past where research findings, if released, might have influenced the outcome of situations. However, no organized groups existed to request (or demand) the public release of data.** Or there was so little contact between the organized community and the research agency that the people in the former were not even aware that research was in progress.

The latter possibility seems to be one that will become less likely as we forge closer ties between agencies of social action and social policy, and various research facilities. With such closeness comes the possibility that the problem will be resolved through benevolent "conspiracies" on the staff level. This has already happened from time to time in the inter-group relations field and doubtless elsewhere as well. Sometimes the research data are

**Some research organizations engaged in voting surveys withhold results until after elections. However, they are working with isolated individuals and do not require the cooperation of organized community groups in the conduct of their research.

such that if "properly interpreted" their possible detrimental effect (in terms of some values shared by investigators and action agencies) can be greatly reduced (1), or the data may be released selectively, some items being discreetly suppressed. When one of the parties (usually the research group) is unwilling to be a partner to such arrangements certain kinds of investigations may prove to be impossible, if they require organization and consent and cooperation.

It is not my intention to suggest that there is any single solution to the problem which has been raised. There does seem to be a need, however, for much fuller discussion and attention to be given to the following:

1. The social sciences must reckon with the fact that the subjects who provide the observational data upon which predictions are based may have the capacity to alter this predicted

behavior when such information is revealed to them.

2. Such disclosures of the "facts" may, under certain circumstances, contribute to results possibly detrimental to wanted goals. Either decision — to give or to withhold information — has inescapable value consequences.

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REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems held at the University of Washington, August 25-29, 1958.

Summary of Minutes of the meeting of the 1957-1958 (retiring) Executive Committee, 10:00 A.M., August 25, 1958, Byron Fox presiding.

Members present: Jessie Bernard, Jerome Himmelhoch, Alfred R. Lindesmith, Carolyn Zeleny

Members absent: Sidney H. Aronson, Herbert Blumer, W. F. Cottrell, Mozell Hill, Rose Hum Lee, Paul Meadows, Dorothy K. Newman, Ira DeA. Reid, Arnold M. Rose, Pauline V. Young

Others present: Rex Hopper, Olga Northwood, Ernest H. Shideler, Erwin O. Smigel

1. The Report of the Secretary, which indicated a substantial net gain in membership and subscriptions during the past year, was accepted as presented. The Secretary raised the point that the line between Active and Associate membership was not always an easy one to draw, and that there seemed to be some inconsistency in the present classification. Individuals who are Active members of the American Sociological Society automatically qualify for Active membership, but individuals belonging to professional social work societies and similar organizations are sometimes classified as Active and sometimes Associate members.

The Secretary also reported that a few individuals who were substantially in arrears in the payment of their dues had been elected or appointed to important positions in the Society. A motion was made that the Election Committee be instructed to screen all candidates to determine whether they are paid-up members in good standing before they are allowed to appear on the ballot, and the President and Editor of *Social Problems* make a similar check with regard to appointive positions. *Approved.*

The Secretary reported that there had been some correspondence (initiated principally by Ronald Lippitt) as to whether liaison might be established between SSSP and the Society for Applied Anthropology. The Executive Committee moved that the incoming president appoint someone to explore the possibilities of cooperative activities with this society.

2. Ernest H. Shideler, Chairman, presented the report of the Committee on Budget, Finance, and Audit for the fiscal

year ending August 31, 1958. He made it clear that the annual grant from Brandeis University of \$1,200 (\$1,835 this year) was to be discontinued now that the Office of the Editor of *Social Problems* was no longer to be located there, and that no similar grant could be anticipated from Indiana University. The new budget allows for a total of \$5,000 for *Social Problems*, including the expenses of the Business Manager. Under the present budget it will be necessary for the Editor either 1) to reduce the size of the journal, or 2) secure more revenue from advertising. (See Mr. Smigel's proposal under the report of the Incoming Executive Committee.) Mr. Shideler also emphasized the importance of attempting to secure grants or gifts from foundations or other sources for the journal or the Society.

Special explanation was given for the item of \$863 for promotion included in the expenditures of the past year. Byron Fox said that this item was unusually large this year because 5,000 brochures on the Society had been printed and distributed at a cost of \$225. Also the stationery which had been designed partly with promotion in mind had been charged to promotion rather than to the expenses of the offices of the Secretary and President. An explanatory statement on this point was to be inserted in the detailed report of the Committee.

Jessie Bernard suggested that SSSP might include in the budget, as some other organizations have done, the amount spent by officers and committee members for travel and other expenses which actually represent contributions by them or their school. It was moved to recommend to the incoming Executive Committee that the new Finance Committee study the possibility of including all contributions and expenditures of this kind as an "in-and-out" item in the budget, in order to present a truer picture of the size of the total enterprise of the Society.

The incoming Treasurer, Olga Northwood, requested that the budget for the Treasurer be raised from \$250 to \$300, but Mr. Shideler made it clear that, after careful study, the Committee had decided that no further funds could be included in the budget for the Treasurer. He said that a request for a larger budget from the Secretary had been denied on similar grounds. Byron Fox pointed out that funds in excess of the budget allotment up to \$100 might on occasion be secured from the Contingency Fund with the permission of the Treasurer working together with the Committee on Finance, Budget and Audit.

Ernest H. Shideler suggested that an analysis of the multiple roles of the officers and Journal staff might be undertaken with a view to clarifying the duties of each individual, especially those affected by the newly instituted system whereby the work of the Treasurer and Business Manager are to be carried out for the first time by separate individuals. A subcommittee was appointed to carry this out on the following day.

The Report of the Committee, including the Budget for the coming year, was accepted.

3. The Report of the Editor of *Social Problems* was accepted, and the Committee framed a resolution commending Jerome Himelhoch on the outstanding contribution he had made to the growth of the Society during his years as Editor, and instructed the incoming President to write a letter to the President of Brandeis University, Abraham Sachar, lauding Himelhoch for his achievements.

4. Various expressions of thanks were offered to the retiring president, Byron Fox, for the immense contribution he had made during his term. A motion was made and passed that the new president write a letter of commendation to the Chancellor of Syracuse University, William P. Tolley, concerning Byron Fox.

The Executive Committee instructed the Secretary to see that letters of commendation be written regarding the outstanding services of Sidney Aronson, who is retiring this year after having served for five years as both Treasurer and Business Manager.

The Secretary was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Joseph Cohen, Chairman of Local Arrangements.

5. In the absence of the chairman of the Editorial and Publications Committee, Robert K. Merton, Byron Fox presented the Committee's report. *Community Structure and Analysis*, the next book of the Society, will be published by Thomas Y. Crowell in June, 1959. The plan for a book on Alcoholism, Austin Porterfield, Editor, had been reviewed by the committee, and approved after a careful study of existing literature to be sure that the material it comprised was new. A publisher is now being sought.

Mention was made of the fact that Norton and Company had expressed disappointment with the sales of our books, which have fallen far below an extremely successful book of readings on social psychology they published. Jerome Himelhoch pointed out that the publicity and promotion given our books by Norton had been

inadequate.

6. Jerome Himelhoch moved that a proposal be placed on the agenda of the incoming executive committee that an investigation be made of ways of securing capable and interested individuals to serve as officers and committee chairmen for the Society. Methods of recruitment, motivation, and follow-up of officers and committee chairmen need further analysis, he said, and some standards should be set up as to the minimal role for a member of the Executive Committee. For example, a candidate for the Executive Committee should be expected to attend the annual meetings and should notify the Chairman of the Election Committee and refuse the nomination if he does not expect to attend. It was suggested that a mid-year meeting of the Executive Committee be held and those members who have failed to play even the minimal role should be replaced. *Approved.* Committee adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLYN ZELENY,
Secretary

Summary of the minutes of the meeting of the 1958-1959 (incoming) Executive Committee, 8:30 A. M., August 26th, Alfred R. Lindesmith presiding.

Members present: Jessie Bernard, Marshall Clinard, Byron Fox, Olga Northwood, Erwin O. Smigel, Carolyn Zeleny

Members absent: Herbert A. Bloch, Joseph B. Gittler, William L. Kolb, Alfred M. Lee, Ira DeA. Reid, Richard A. Schermerhorn, Marvin B. Sussman

Others present: Rex D. Hopper, Jerome Himelhoch, Ernest H. Shideler

1. Ernest H. Shideler was asked to serve another term as Chairman of the Committee on Budget, Finance, and Audit, and accepted with the provision that if any new position he might undertake next spring becomes too burdensome he be permitted to turn over his chairmanship at that time.

2. Byron Fox was asked to serve as Chairman of the Committee on Promotion and Publicity. Jerome Himelhoch stressed the importance of promoting the Society in order to bring it before larger numbers of people and suggested that the University News Service might write up stories based on special issues of the Journal.

3. Jessie Bernard suggested that under New Projects a person be designated to watch developments in national legislation to spot issues which might be of interest to SSSP on which policy recommendations

might be made.

4. Alfred R. Lindesmith suggested that a special mailing be sent to all active members early this fall asking them in order of preference on which special problems committees they would like to serve. *Approved.*

It was recommended that the general membership be asked to make suggestions regarding chairmen and members of special problems committees at the end of the general session of papers later that morning. *Approved.*

5. Ernest H. Shideler presented the report of his committee which had already been approved by the retiring Executive Committee. He explained that the item of \$750 included in the budget was for action meetings on desegregation proposed by the incoming President; his committee felt that these worthwhile plans of the new President should receive encouragement, and thus an amount roughly equal to his estimate of the expenses involved was included.

The budget for the coming year was presented. *Approved.*

6. Jerome Himelhoch's proposal that an investigation as to how to secure able individuals to serve as officers and "man the organizational structure" of the Society was discussed. Byron Fox suggested that all active members of the Society might be asked to volunteer for positions in which they would be willing to serve.

It was decided that a by-law be written for the election procedure that every member of the Society indicate the position in which he would be willing to serve. Another suggestion was that the Executive Committee hold a mid-year session when those members of the Committee who are not doing an adequate job should be replaced.

It was moved that the Committee on Permanent Organization be instructed to consider what structural reorganization might be put into effect in view of the expansion of the society. It was urged that Jerome Himelhoch try to attend any meeting of this committee proposing to discuss such a reorganization, in order to clarify his suggestions.

7. Marshal B. Clinard focused attention upon the function of the special problems committees which, according to his view, might be considered the real core of the Society, which distinguished it from other organizations in the field, and around which the Society's chief functions revolved. He believed that a semi-formal organization built around interest in these specific areas might well provide the focal point of activity for the whole society. He

believed that sessions of these committees should include not only research reports but also discussions of possible policy recommendations, and should include practitioners in each field as well as research workers and teachers. If legislation came up, the group might wish to express its policy convictions if any.

It was decided to obtain suggestions from the membership at the open general session later in the morning as to how the effectiveness of the special problems' committees might be increased.

8. Considerable discussion was devoted to the relationship of the SSSP Special Problems Committees with the newly to be formed sections of the ASS. The question was raised as to whether SSSP, which is now an affiliate of the American Sociological Society, should ask to be admitted as a Section of the American Sociological Society while maintaining its identity as an organization.

There was some confusion as to just what the plans were for the American Sociological Society sections and in what way they would affect the SSSP. The question was raised whether if SSSP was admitted as a section, its autonomy would be destroyed. The American Sociological Society has had a hands-off policy regarding any stand on policy matters. Would SSSP still be able to discuss policy questions at sessions attended by the American Sociological Society members?

One advantage of joining the American Sociological Society as a section might be that we could have some of our sessions during the days of the American Sociological Society meetings, when they might be better attended and draw a larger number of prominent specialists from some of the fields.

The fact that SPSSI was a section of American Psychological Association was cited as an interesting parallel. It seems that SPSSI has been able to retain a fair degree of autonomy.

It was recommended that a special subcommittee be appointed to investigate what the American Sociological Society plans to do, who proposed the sections and why, and how they conceive their sections will function. The whole problem of the relationship between the two societies should be explored.

A subcommittee decided to meet informally the following day to discuss their tentative findings.

Committee adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
CAROLYN ZELENY,
Secretary

Summary of the minutes of the Business Meeting of the Society, 4:45 P. M., August 26, 1958, Byron Fox presiding.

1. Ernest H. Shideler, chairman of the Committee on Budget, Finance, and Audit* explained that although there had been an operational deficit for the year ending July 31, 1958, there was a \$4,000 surplus left in the Society's account in the bank.

In answer to questions from the floor he declared that operating at a small loss which was paid out of the surplus earned in other years was considered a temporary device and it was hoped that it would not be necessary in the future. Special efforts to secure grants for the Society or to increase its income in other ways are contemplated.

The Chairman explained that conservative budgeting for the coming year was necessary in view of the fact that the Brandeis University Grant is to be discontinued when the Journal moves to the Indiana University Campus.

He explained that the \$750 item on the budget provided for expenses to be incurred by the midyear action meetings of social scientists, government officials and intergroup agencies on problems of integration, proposed by the new President.

The budget as presented has been revised, the Chairman explained, by action of the incoming executive committee to the extent that any funds in excess of \$400 secured by advertising in *Social Problems* are to be earmarked for use by the Journal.

One of the recommendations of the Committee was that the funds on hand be invested in Government E bonds. Joseph W. Eaton suggested from the floor that these funds might better be placed in a savings account where interest rates would be more favorable and funds more accessible. It was moved that the Budget Committee for the coming year consider alternate ways of investing the money. *Approved.* Point 5 on the list of recommendations, the need for a continued membership drive, was emphasized by the Chairman.

The report of the Budget Committee was accepted.

2. The report of the Secretary was accepted.

3. The report of the Editor of *Social Problems* was read by the retiring Editor,

*For the content of the report, see *Social Problems*, 6 (Fall, 1958).

Jerome Himelhoch, and accepted.**

The Editor wished to express his thanks for the fine work done by the Board of Associate Editors, and also by the Book Review Editor, News Editor, and Editors in charge of the special issues.

Harry S. Roberts presented a resolution of commendation to Jerome Himelhoch for his excellent work as Editor of the Journal, citing also the contribution he had made through securing the Helen DeRoy Award. A standing ovation lauding the work of the Editor was given by the entire membership.

Harry S. Roberts also presented a resolution commending Sidney Aronson, who is retiring after five years as Treasurer. The membership again endorsed this resolution with a unanimous standing ovation.

4. The report of the Editorial and Publications Committee was read and accepted.*

5. The report of the New Projects Committee was read and accepted.* Jessie Bernard made the point that the functions of the New Projects Committee was to keep on thinking up new projects rather than to carry out the Committee's own proposals. Their suggestions should be passed on to others to carry out. A motion was made that the President be instructed to take action to see that the suggestions of the Committee be implemented. *Approved.*

6. Butler Jones, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization,** referred to the newly mimeographed copies of the Constitution which incorporated changes adopted in the last few years, and read off a few corrections so that the Secretary's and Treasurer's offices would be uniformly cited as appointive rather than elective.

As to the future activities of the committee, this year's committee recommended that the following work be undertaken:

- 1) a study of the relationship of SSSP to the American Sociological Society
- 2) an investigation of the SSSP membership classification system
- 3) separation of the by-laws from the Constitution as a matter of form.

7. James F. Short, Jr., Co-Chairman, read the report of the Membership Committee which was accepted.* He recommended for favorable consideration the proposal made by Harry S. Roberts that the committee include in the future one

**For the content of the report, see *Social Problems*, 6 (Winter, 1958-59).

member of the Society from each state or two from large states to assume responsibility for bringing the Society to the notice of all the sociologists in his state, as part of a general effort to build a larger and more representative membership for SSSP.

8. The report of the Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publications and Teaching was read and accepted.* Mention was made of the fact that the committee was to be entirely reconstituted this year, which posed a problem as to continuity.

The question then was raised as to how continuity might be promoted in the work of the various Committees and the Society in general. John Rademaker suggested that staggered two-year terms of office be instituted to reduce discontinuity.

9. The report of the Elections Committee was read and accepted. Byron Fox suggested that a list of current officers and committee members be included with the ballot in order to prevent nominations of individuals already serving in other capacities.

10. Ray Mack reported that he had not played an active role as Coordinator of Special Problems Committees because he believed in promoting the autonomy of the Special Problems Committees; in fact he recommended that the position of Coordinator be abolished.

11. A resolution was made that a vote of thanks be given to Joseph Cohen for his work as Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee and a copy of the resolution be sent to him. Unanimously approved.

12. Chairman of Special Problems presented their reports.*

13. It was announced that Rex Hopper is to be the new representative to the Fourth World Congress of Sociology to be held in Milan and Stresa, Italy, in September, 1959.

14. The next annual meeting of SSSP is to be held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, September 2-5, 1959. The theme of the meeting will be Desegregation and Civil Rights.

15. A recommendation was made that study be given to the problem of electing capable officers and executive committee members who would serve if elected. *Approved.*

16. Ernest H. Shideler presented a resolution expressing the appreciation of the Society for the outstanding achievements

of Byron Fox as President, saying "there is a question whether any President of the Society has given himself more fully to the organization than Byron Fox." An enthusiastic standing ovation of the entire membership endorsed this resolution.

Adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
CAROLYN ZELENY,
Secretary

COMMITTEE REPORTS

SPECIAL PROBLEMS COMMITTEES REPORT OF THE COORDINATOR, Warren Breed

Considerable interest was shown in SSSP's Special Problems Committees in response to a canvass sent to all members in mid-March. Over 175 members returned ballots indicating committees they wished to join. Almost one-half of these checked three or more committees of their choice.

Most members were assigned to only two committees, usually on the basis of their rank preference; in some cases a member was assigned to his third choice committee rather than his second in the interest of a more equitable distribution. In such cases, if a member still wishes to join another committee, he should contact its chairman. In general, membership in the special problems committees is open to all members, at all times.

Committees were chosen as follows (some of those individuals included in these totals were already members, some were not): Intergroup Relations 41; Community Research & Development 40; Sociology & Social Work 34; Crime & Delinquency 33; Mental Health 32; International Tensions 26; Occupational Problems 23; Social Science & Social Policy 22; Organizational Dynamics 20; Alcoholism 17.

One Committee was inadvertently omitted from the canvass: Marriage, Family and Divorce. The death of its chairman, Paul Lasakow, will be keenly felt by the committee and the Society. Those interested in joining should contact the new chairman, Prof. Margaret G. Benz, Department of Sociology, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

In addition, attention is called to the permanent committee on Social Problems Theory. At the last annual meeting, this committee was declared open to all interested members. They may contact its chairman, Arnold Rose, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

*For the content of most of these reports, see *Social Problems*, 6 (Fall, 1958).

Members were asked on the canvass to suggest possible new special committees. It might be of interest to list all of these, for the consideration of members. The following received one, two or three nominations: Teaching of Social Problems, Population, Problems of Urban Change, Nationalism, Agrarianism, Narcotic Addiction, Social Science and the Foundations, Public Opinion and Social Science, Labor and Industry, Civil Rights, Happiness, Sociology and Law, Correctional Administration, Militarization and Society, Personality Development, Historical Research in Social Problems, Housing, Play and Recreation, Political Behavior, Education and the Schools, Religion and Churches, Motivation of Personal Freedoms, Primary Groups and Primary Relations, Social Aspects of Technical Development, Research as an Institution, How Russia is Facing Similar Problems. Interestingly, there were no direct suggestions that social stratification should be considered by a special committee.

Three areas were suggested as committees by six or more members. They were Aging; Mass Communications; and Physical Health. These three, and perhaps others, will be considered by the Executive Committee for institutionalization.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY will be held in Milan and Stresa September 9 to 15, 1959. Copies of the program may be obtained by writing to: Office of the Secretary, SSSP, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.; or to T. B. Bottomore, International Sociological Association, Skepper House, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C. 1.

THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL GERONTOLOGY, University of Michigan, announces the publication of a series of five syllabi in Social Gerontology, edited by Dr. Irving L. Webber, University of Florida. Each syllabus consists of a course outline and annotated bibliography of scientific literature in the field of aging designed for the use of college and university faculty interested in or preparing to offer courses in social gerontology.

The syllabi are: The Economics of an Aging Population; The Psychological Aspects of the Aging; The Sociology of Aging and the Aged; Social Welfare and the Aged; and An Interdisciplinary Course in Social Gerontology.

Single copies are available on request at a charge of fifteen cents each or fifty cents for the set. Address requests to the Institute

for Social Gerontology, University of Michigan, 1510 Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

THE WILLIAM GREEN HUMAN RELATIONS LIBRARY (25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.) was opened for service early last December. The library deals exclusively with the American trade union movement in relation to civil rights, human rights, and American minorities. The services of the library and its collection are extended to scholars, students and labor people throughout the country.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK has a number of National Institute of Mental Health traineeships available to persons interested in the doctoral program in social work and social science. Applicants may be considered also for Russell Sage Foundation fellowships. Stipends range from \$600 to \$3,600, including dependency allowances. The program offers degrees combining social work with sociology, social psychology, psychology, or economics. Students with bachelor's degrees only, with a master's degree in social work or a social science discipline, may apply. For detailed information and application forms, write to: Henry J. Meyer, School of Social Work, University of Michigan.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON FAMILY RELATIONS announces the first Ernest W. Burgess Award for the best research proposal of the year was made in August 1958 to Dr. Mildred B. Kantor and Howard S. Gall of the St. Louis County Health Department and Washington University. The award of \$125 was made at the 20th National Council on Family Relations at Eugene, Oregon, for the proposed study of "Some Consequences of Physical and Social Mobility of Families for the Adjustment of Children."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOCIAL PROBLEMS is planning a special issue on social problem solving in the U.S.S.R. Students in this area are invited to contact Kent Geiger, Consulting Editor, The Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS will hold its 1959 meeting September 2-5 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. Members of the Local Arrangements Committee include: Rose Hum Lee, Roosevelt University, Chairman; Peter Blau, University of Chicago; Arthur Hillman, Roosevelt University; Grace Jaffe, Barat College; Bevode McCall, Indiana University (Gary); Curtis MacDougall, Northwestern University; Raymond Mack, Northwestern University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Conviction. Edited by Norman Mackenzie.
London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1958.
237 pp. 18 shillings.

This book of provocative essays should be of considerable interest to students of modern social problems. The contributors are all young (40 and under); some are academicians (but very uncloistered ones!), others are research workers and serious journalists. They all believe in democratic socialism—and it is from this common outlook that they examine aspects of modern British life. This book is not, strictly speaking, an academic work; nor does it mainly concern the particular "pathologies" which are usually studied in American social problems courses. But as well as containing stimulating discussion of the British social scene (which alone would make the book worth reading), *Conviction* forces the reader to ask disturbing questions about the tenor and scope of conventional social problems thinking.

As the title suggests, the contributors have strong convictions. Their goals are high, and they are willing to question even those trends of which they generally approve. Thus they are able to assess critically "the welfare state"—calling attention to the perpetuation of a managerial elite, to bureaucracy in the nationalized industries and to the inadequacy of social services which provide only a "national minimum." Similarly their understanding of a "classless" society does not amount merely to the do-gooder's conception of introducing working-class people to the "better things in life"; several essays stress the worthwhile working-class values which should be incorporated in an eventual common culture. This point highlights one of the great difficulties in the social problems field, the familiar tendency to make lack of "adjustment" (to middle-class values) the main criterion of "pathology." As Albert Cohen has noted, all too often "good" behavior merely means middle-class behavior; "delinquency" becomes a socio-economic judgment rather than a meaningful diagnosis.

One also finds in this book challenging comments on the role of the social scientist. Perhaps few academic sociologists would accept Peter Townsend's claim that social investigations should be concerned, above all else, with the "submerged fifth"—the poorest and most handicapped members of society. And his contemptuous attitude toward all historical and theoretical work is unfortunate. But his attack on sociological "professionalism" is clearly justified; Coser, Mills, Whyte and others

have cogently commented on the stultifying effects of academic entrepreneurship in America. Similarly, in an era of "safe" research, it is heartening to read the credo of Brian Abel-Smith (a university teacher of social science): "It is in my view the duty of the universities to hunt out and publish whatever a government may wish to conceal. I try to be a continuous but fair critic of the 'Establishment view'."

Social pathologists might note that the contributors to *Conviction* are most alarmed by problems which call for distinctly social solutions. Do not such matters as social planning, social change in underdeveloped areas, nationalism and imperialism, war and peace, today raise social problems of even greater importance than the behavioral difficulties with which we are more typically concerned? (It is perhaps significant that a recent American text includes a chapter entitled "The Effect of War on Deviant Behavior" yet none on war itself as a social problem.) In his 1958 Presidential address to the SSSP, Byron Fox sensibly warned about the dangers of parochialism in social problems work. He also sought to promote an increased sense of urgency about the current world situation. Is it really the case, he asked, that sociologists "can do no better than to take a detached pose and make careful observations until the final awful moment." As the editor of this book, Norman Mackenzie, puts it, "Too many men who should have known better have been complacent. . . . The world has been going to hell around them, and they have done too little about it because it has been more comfortable to drift."

The social critics who wrote these essays have a basic faith in human nature and a belief that rational planning offers the best hope for a better world. The intellectual's role, as they see it, necessarily involves political commitment. This forceful and very readable book merits attention from American scholars. It might well induce some of them to take an increased interest in the burning issues of the day.

EDWIN M. SCHUR

Wellesley College

Psychologische und methodische Grundlagen der Einzelfallhilfe (Casework). By Ruth Bang. Weisbaden: Verlag für Jugendpflege - und Gruppenschrifttum, 1958. 311 pp. \$2.65. (Approx.)

English principles and statutes of poor relief have governed American poor law practice not only during the Colonial period in our country, but also the main developments in charities and public wel-

fare until the end of the nineteenth century. Even voluntary relief organizations and the charity organization societies which are often considered especially germane to our ideals of free enterprise were frequently inspired by British institutions. In the area of social security and social insurance again such countries as Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, Australia and New Zealand provided the pattern upon which our system developed. But in one area of social work this trend was reversed. The basic modern methods of social work — social casework, group work, and community organization in social welfare — are original American contributions to the science and art of social work. They were brought to Europe during and after the First World War and have since influenced European theory and practice of social work. The exchange of teachers and students of social work between European countries and the United States, and the systematic information offered under several programs of the United Nations, its Department of Social Affairs and the specialized agencies of the United Nations have contributed to a better understanding of our social work methods in most countries of Western and Northern Europe. It is significant that after several books in England and Germany which presented our American concepts of social work, Ruth Bang's work attempts to interpret casework within the framework of German thought and values.

The author, a member of the faculty of the school of social work at Mannheim, had practical experience of applying casework in a child guidance clinic in Berlin in close cooperation with American caseworkers and of teaching in seminars and institutes conducted under the auspices of the Unitarian Service Committee and of the United Nations. The contribution which American concepts and skills of social casework have made upon the practice of social work in foreign countries is justly emphasized. The author attempts to present the essential psychological, sociological and philosophical elements upon which the practice of social casework as a problem-solving process is based. The necessary connection of social casework practice with professional supervision is stressed throughout the book, which, in fact, deals with both casework, field work, and practice supervision. Casework theory and practice are closely interrelated in the discussion of methodology and in the process of teaching and learning. Among the basic theoretical questions the author explains the emotional needs of human be-

ings to be loved, accepted, recognized, to belong to a primary group, and to be independent and secure. There is a discussion of the unconscious, of ambivalence, the ego, super ego, and the id, of defense mechanism, and transference. The chapter on social work as a helping process interprets its psychological elements for client and worker, and the technique of the casework interview. The book follows our sequence of social investigation and fact finding, diagnosing the client's situation, and the execution of his treatment while using his capacities for change and adaptations. The necessity of self-awareness of the caseworker might have been more thoroughly explained. A chapter with two extensive case illustrations is taken from Florence Hollis' *Social Case Work in Practice* and from another case in the United States. The author mentions in her preface that these American cases were chosen because they illustrate better than any German cases the principles, psychological concepts, and methodological procedure of social casework. There is a bibliography of both German and English literature which gives valuable help for the teaching and learning of casework. The book is a welcome contribution to the understanding and teaching of casework in German-speaking countries.

WALTER FRIEDLANDER

School of Social Welfare
University of California, Berkeley

Una Comunità Meridionale (Montorio nei Frentani): Preliminari ad un'indagine sociologico-culturale. By Guido Vincelli. Preface by Franco Ferrarotti. Torino, Italia: Casa Editrice Taylor, via Valeggio 26, 1958. x, 260 pp. 1200 Italian lira.

Vincelli summarizes in this book, with new material added, a series of eight articles he published in 1955-57 in *Quaderni di Sociologia*, the very useful quarterly edited by Professors Nicola Abbagnano and Ferrarotti at the University of Torino. This is a sociological study of a community, partly very ancient and partly new, in the Molise not far from Campobasso. It is interesting as part of a small and growing library of superior studies based upon objective sociological research which are now appearing in Italy.

Vincelli himself compares his book in part with James West's *Plainville, U. S. A.*, and the comparison is an apt one, but Vincelli has not slavishly copied American models, methods or theories. He has apparently tried with success to adapt them to Italian conditions. He describes

cultural principles or themes which shape the conduct of the Montorisesi as individuals and as a community, but he does not stop there. He also concerns himself with the nature of existing social problems and makes proposals for coping better with them. As in so many other "cultural" studies, Vincelli apparently assumes an all-too-evenly shared and monovalent system of social patterns. As a candid observer and recorder of social data, however, he found that class and other group differences in culture and in cultural interpretation gave him difficulties, and he reports some of these difficulties.

Sections of the work deal with the physical environment, relevant historical materials, the economic, judicial, social, and administrative structures, the population and its characteristics, the cycle of man (model of individual behavior), the cycle of the year, the family and extra-family associations, magic and religion, and conclusions.

This is a most encouraging product of the new sociology in Italy. I trust that at least sections of it are translated and made available more readily to American sociologists.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

Brooklyn College

Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade. Edited by Joseph B. Gittler. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. 588 pp. \$10.50.

The ambitious plan of this book was to present a review of the significant research literature in sociology for the years from 1945 through the first quarter of 1955. Contributors to the volume constitute a roster of some of the most distinguished American sociologists: Gittler and Mannheim (sociological theory), Stouffer (quantitative methods), Kiser (demography), Kaplan (personality and social structure), Blumer (collective behavior), Gist (urban community), Beers (rural community), Warner (social stratification), Chapin (institutions and associations), Whyte (industrial sociology), Winch (marriage and the family), Bales, Hare and Borgatta (small groups), Williams (race and cultural relations), and Clinard (delinquency and crime). There are, in addition, bibliographical appendixes prepared by Gordon, Gusfield, Macklin and Pittman on the sociology of education, politics, religion, art, and culture change.

It is disappointing that delinquency, crime, and intergroup relations were the only social problems deemed worthy of

extensive and systematic review. Clinard competently covers advances of a decade in criminology with specific reference to the nature of crime, criminal behavior and society, behavior systems, the theory of differential association, personality traits, war and peace, administration of justice, prediction of recidivism, and research techniques. Williams ingeniously summarizes the work in his field in terms of 57 propositions relating to properties of ethnic prejudice, the relation of personality to prejudice, intergroup contacts and situational determinants of intergroup relations, the social structure of minority ethnic groupings, social control and the role of power and authority in intergroup relations, and social processes in intergroup change.

No reason is given by the editor for the neglect of other social problems, but one of his contributors offers a hint in his allegation that there has been a trend of "de-emphasis of sociologists on social problems." Perhaps in the total range of sociological research activity during 1945-55 social problems were given proportionately less attention than had earlier been the case. But research on alcoholism during that decade clearly warranted more than the cursory acknowledgement of two sentences (p. 365); problems of aging were studied far more extensively than is suggested by seven bibliographical references and the deferential statement that "this seems to be the middle of the growing season, and it is too soon to tell exactly how the crop of research on this topic will turn out" (p. 372). Research on the problem aspects of mass behavior is reviewed in less than three pages (pp. 132-134), and only one page (p. 180) is devoted to social problems engendered by housing conditions. There is, incidentally, no mention at all of the emergence and accomplishments of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and its Journal!

Part of the reluctance to review the research achievements in these and other social problems may be based on the lack of operational consensus as to how the study of social problems fits into the overall pattern of sociological endeavor. A social problem tends to attract interdisciplinary analysis. Some of the contributors to the book have subscribed to the safe course of professional parochialism, referring only to research by members of their association and to findings reported in the best-known sociological periodicals and journals. This eliminated a considerable amount of research conducted outside the pale or re-

ported in peripheral and non-sociological publications, but no less competent and important to sociology in many instances than that reviewed in Gittler's book.

MILTON L. BARRON

The City College of New York

Social Perspectives on Behavior: A Reader in Social Sciences for Social Work and Related Professions. Edited by Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958. xix, 666 pp. \$7.50.

This book marks a new high in the recent upsurge of interest in sociology by social workers. The earliest attention of the nascent profession was given to problems of poverty and living standards—including study of environment in a broad and obvious sense—and this was followed in the 1920's and 1930's by a "psychiatric deluge." Social work seems now ready to receive the more mature theoretical insights of the social sciences and the results of sociological research, as one of the leaders in the profession, Gordon Hamilton, strongly urges in the perceptive foreword to this volume.

The readings are grouped into six sections: Family Structure and Ethnic Patterns, Social Roles, Values, Social Stratification, Deviant Behavior as a Property of Groups, and Bureaucratic Structure. The editors state that each section includes at least one theoretical selection, but that most of them are empirical. Although a few pieces chosen represent studies of agencies as social institutions, or some aspect of professional practice, most of them are not oriented to the immediate interest of the intended readers. Selections from Durkheim and Max Weber are included but typically the readings are "contemporary classics."

The editors are social work educators who have prepared this book for professional students and practitioners, and this fact makes the book all the more noteworthy. They have assembled an array of materials which reflects wide reading and sophisticated interest in social science. Their stated intention was not to present an "integrated theory" but rather illuminating and provocative ideas and data which would show that the social environment is "extraordinarily complex and subtle." This they have surely done.

The interplay of sociology and social work does not alter the distinctive role of each discipline. Indeed the relationship is stronger when each understands and accepts the role of the other. Practitioners who use this volume will achieve a height-

ened sense of professional awareness from the contributions of sociologists to their thinking. Perhaps many know more than they have articulated or generalized about, as various selections help them to do, for example, on the value system as inevitably a part of every treatment situation—steering away from notions of adjustment as being what right thinking people agree on—or the group references and cultural content of behavior, thus avoiding a preoccupation with the unique, subjective life of the individual client, as has been the predilection of case workers. Moreover, the readily evident differences in status or ethnic background are shown to be parts of cultural patterns with subtle nuances and meanings for the client which the practitioner should try to understand.

The footnotes from the articles or excerpts cited are placed together as notes at the end of the book. A reader who wishes to pursue any topic may find here ample bibliographical help. There are introductory statements in each section which serve to orient the reader, but one wonders if some will not get lost in the variety of materials taken out of context. Perhaps the editors have assumed too great an ability to assimilate this spread of spicy and meaty sociological food.

There is no doubt on the part of this reviewer that there is a new readiness on the part of social workers to use sociological concepts, and an interest in the fruits of research. Recent contacts with professionals on the staffs of national agencies, welfare councils and settlements, and reports of high level and local conferences, reveal an acute awareness of social class and other cultural factors in responses to agency programs, seasoned observations on the community power structure, and reflections on role interaction whether it be in case work, group work or administration. Leaders in the social work field have many questions and quandaries, and often turn hopefully to researchers for answers.

This book will help social workers ask appropriate questions of sociologists and also to think of problems for scientific study which would not otherwise occur to outsiders.

ARTHUR HELLMAN

*Roosevelt University and
National Federation of Settlements
and Neighborhood Centers*

The Changing Population of the United States. By Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber. New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman & Hall, 1958. xi, 357 pp. \$7.75.

Social scientists who attempt to analyze

the under-developed areas of the world are plagued by the chronic paucity of reliable data. Something of this problem exists also with respect to Western countries, but in recent decades the greater difficulty has become finding means of using the superabundant statistics that flow in indigestible quantities from the census and vital statistics offices. Not even professional demographers generally make as full use of these sources as the data warrant. Recognizing the need for supplementary guides to the basic statistics, the Social Science Research Council and the U. S. Bureau of the Census have jointly sponsored a series of census monographs, of which the volume under review is the most general.

The Changing Population of the United States analyzes in considerable detail the increase in numbers from 1790 to date; the relative contributions of immigration, fertility, and mortality to this growth; internal migration and urbanization; population composition by marital status, education, economic activity, and income; and population projections. The work is primarily an analysis of official data, though occasionally citations are made from books or articles that document a particular point. Lacunae in government statistics, as on the religious composition of the population, have ordinarily not been filled in from whatever private data exist.

In their preface the authors tell us that they intend to "present broad outlines rather than exhaustive analyses," selecting "from the wealth of materials some that provide an overall view of the changing American population." This is altogether too modest a statement of their achievement. No significant element of demographic analysis has been skimmed, and the discussion of what might be considered subsidiary topics—such as education, for example—is sometimes rich in detail. The chapter on the interrelation among the several components of population growth is a model of precision.

Excellent as it is in the context of the authors' stated purpose, the volume is somewhat disappointing in a broader framework. In such a monograph as this, the reader hopes not merely for an analysis of the data and their statistical interrelation but a statement of what they mean. For instance, another monograph in this series, Miller's *Income of the American People*, gives the statistics against a background of social philosophy on what constitutes an equitable distribution of income. Or, as another example, the *Report of the Royal Commission on Population* is

concerned first of all with the relation between population and the national interest, a subject the Taeubers barely touch. Their discussion of population policy is virtually limited to the statement that "the United States has never had population policies formulated as such, although growth has always been favored." Not surprisingly, the chapter on immigration, where policy has been all-important, is the weakest in the book.

In general, however, the Taeubers' superb control of their material is almost too good. It makes the process of interpreting and analyzing historical population statistics seem much easier than anyone else would find it to be. The authors could have usefully devoted one chapter to the gradual development of the census to its present majestic sweep, and to the difficulties and problems in judging the accuracy and completeness of population statistics.

These remarks aside, it is worth repeating that within its confines, this is an excellent and supremely useful piece of work. It will be an indispensable reference work for all who have occasion to use population data, and the professionals who work with the census volumes themselves will be able to save many hours of work by beginning any research with this monograph.

WILLIAM PETERSEN
National Science Foundation

The Patient and The Mental Hospital.
Edited by Milton Greenblatt, Daniel J. Levinson, and Richard H. Williams.
Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957. 658 pp. \$6.00.

It is difficult to review a book of this type, since the proliferation of authorship and of subject matter prevent holding particular persons accountable for more than small areas of the total production. As with many other recent "readers" and research compendia, there is neither a set of issues nor a theoretical orientation to evaluate. Faced with about 650 pages of diversified material and an army of investigators, the lone reviewer is probably defeated from the start. Yet even with this heavy handicap, there are a few comments which may be useful for prospective readers.

The genesis of the book is found in a 1954 Research Conference on Socio-Environmental Aspects of Patient Care in Mental Hospitals sponsored by NIMH. For better or worse, the volume is apparently a presentation of *all* the papers, at least in revised form. The initial decision

to include everyone may be questioned, since it forces considerable apologia from one of the editors in a "Conclusions" chapter. Each of the three editors was responsible for at least one major division of topic areas, to wit: *Mental Hospital Organization, Therapeutic Personnel, The Ward, the Patient and The Extra Hospital World*. The rationale for these divisions is not given, but presumably had something to do with what research was actually being done, and not necessarily what ought to be done.

As might be expected, the studies themselves vary from extremely detailed statistical analyses to rather highly impressionistic reporting of events as seen by an observer. The reader is left to his own devices in separating the high quality material from the mediocre. Rather than attempt such an enterprise in this review, I will confine myself to the concluding analyses presented by the editors.

Greenblatt points out that the real goal of mental treatment is to maximize therapeutic activity and minimize custodial activity. These are considered as polarities, one "good" and the other "bad." Yet we are left with a feeling of vagueness as to the actual content of these polar types. Things restrictive are labeled "bad" (custodial) and things interactive are labeled "good" (therapeutic). Perhaps the lines cannot be drawn so easily, nor is there sufficient evidence yet for classifying some of the less extreme types of environment and practices as "bad" or "good." Thus, even if one accepts these gross typologies, it is not a simple matter to use them empirically.

Williams' chapter on implications of the researches for theory appears hard to justify. He presents a rather orthodox Parsonian framework of action and attempts to "plug in" various chapters to bolster his interpretation. This is *post-facto* theorizing, in that one must impute an unconscious bond between Parsons and the researchers quoted. A perusal of the index reveals that only three writers mention Parsons by name. Two of these are Wil-

liams and Parsons himself. The other is Spiegel, who mentions the process of interaction analysis rather than the theory of action. Thus, one might conclude that while the research in the volume may contain implications for Parsons' theory, the reverse effect was not present, or at least not acknowledged.

Levinson's appraisal of the mental hospital as a research setting is actually a good critique of the entire book, and but for its length could serve as both content and evaluation. The only unity he finds is "in the common purpose" of understanding and controlling the hospital complex. He seems more of a realist in terms of what the book has done than either of his co-editors. He states candidly "the level of conceptualization is quite low in many studies." He points out frequent and glaring deficiencies in sampling, in the tendency to causal inference from inadequate data and research designs, etc. Much attention is given to the difficulties and pitfalls of establishing a researcher's role in an applied-type organization. Levinson concludes that hospital research must be geared to *improvement* of ways to treat patients. He acknowledges the presentations of Greenblatt and Williams, but it is difficult to see how he can find them compatible with his own analysis.

Without doubt, the volume contains much of eclectic interest, and many of the studies are exciting and well-done. But this adds up to no body of scientific knowledge, however conceived. It would seem that now is a good time to take stock of the directions in which rather random efforts at research in mental hospitals have led us. We need to be more specific, and perhaps more ruthless in our research orientation. One cannot prepare indefinitely for the "big tasks that lie ahead." The ultimate value of this book is to point up the suggestion that perhaps the period of general probing is over, and that we had better achieve some consensus as researchers on what matters most need doing, and how, as scientists, we can best do them.

JACK J. PREISS

Michigan State University

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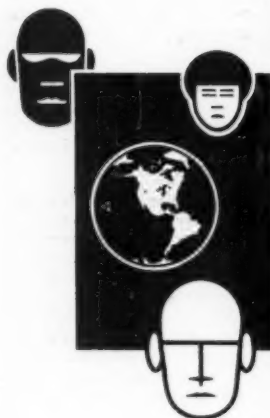
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for research and writing in the field of social problems

The Society for the Study of Social Problems will present at its ninth annual meeting in August, 1959, The Helen L. DeRoy Award of five hundred dollars to the author or co-authors of the best paper reporting on research concerning a vital social problem, such as ethnic prejudice and discrimination, family disorganization, war and international tensions, curtailment of civil liberties, crime and delinquency, problems incident to the impact of mass communications on society, industrial conflict, poverty, and physical and mental disease. The research may either analyze new data or evaluate previous studies. Its purpose should be to test significant hypotheses or to show the relevance of such hypotheses to the solution of social problems in some field of applied social science, such as medical sociology, social psychiatry, housing, penal administration, social work, and industrial sociology. The members of the Helen L. DeRoy Award Committee and the closing date will be announced later. Authors are urged to submit their manuscripts as soon as possible.

1. Candidates should submit an original double-spaced typed copy and two carbon copies of their manuscripts, which should be between 3,000 and 10,000 words in length, to Erwin O. Smigel, Secretary, Helen L. DeRoy Award Committee, Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
2. Each manuscript will be simultaneously considered for the competition and for publication in *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*, the official journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, unless the author specifies that he does not wish his paper to be considered for such publication. Papers which satisfy the standards of the Editorial Staff of *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* will be published in the first issue in which there is available space. Submission of the manuscript for consideration by *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* is not a requirement of the competition. It is understood, however, that the winning paper will be published in *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*. Therefore, no author may submit his manuscript to another journal until it has been eliminated from the contest and returned to him.
3. Each manuscript will be subjected to a preliminary screening by the Committee to determine whether it meets eligibility requirements in regard to subject matter, organization, style, methodology, etc. A manuscript which does not meet these requirements will be returned to the author within fifteen weeks after its receipt by the Committee.
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